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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW

THIRD SERIES.—No. XLIII.

JULY, 1889.

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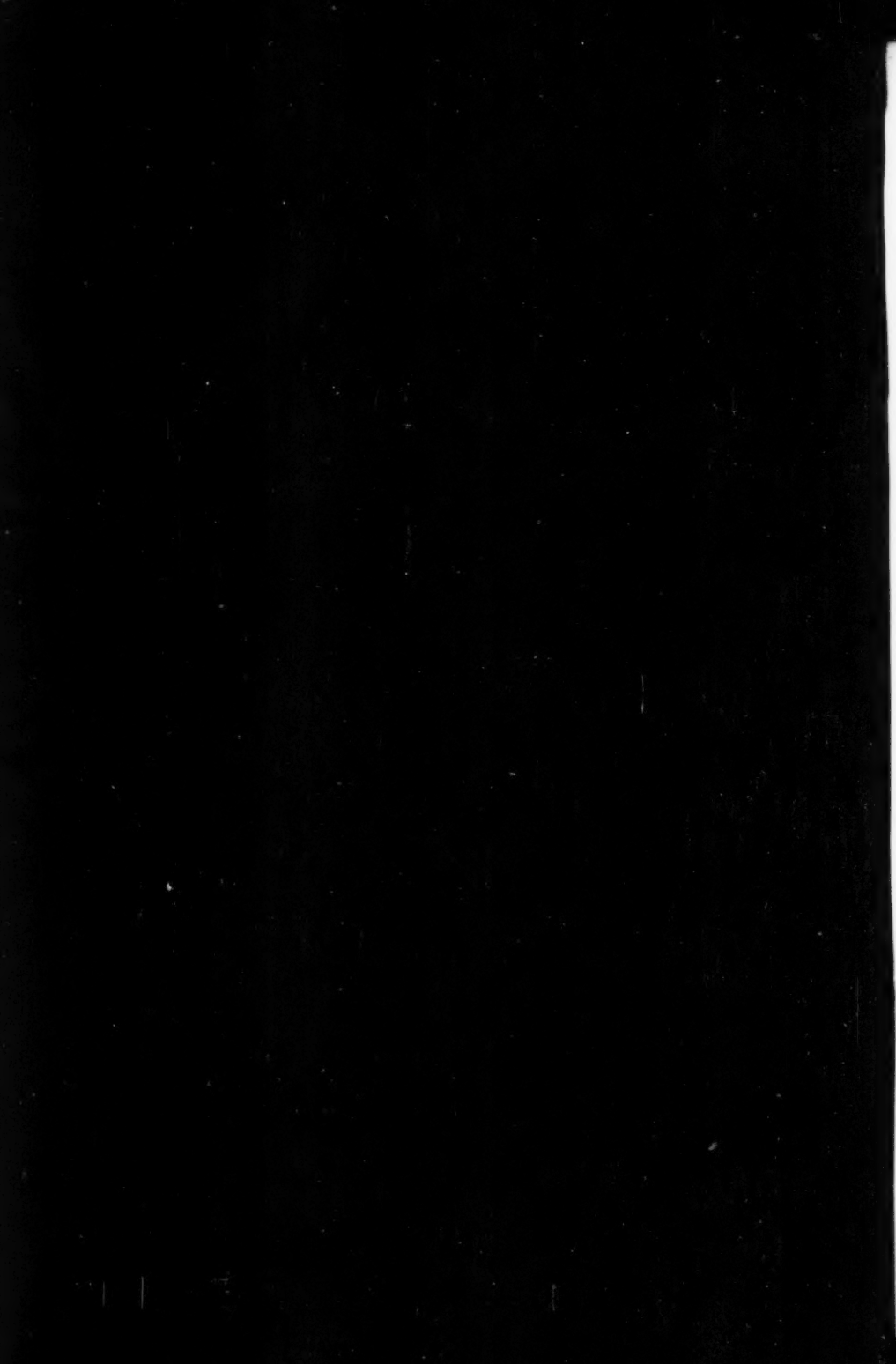
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY, 1889.

ART. I.—THE LAND AND THE WORKS OF
ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.

1. *Œuvres Complètes de St. François de Sales.* Editions Vivès 1879, et Migne, 1861-4.
2. *Library of St. Francis de Sales* (Works of this Doctor of the Church, translated into English). Vols. I. II. III. IV. London: Burns & Oates. 1883-1888.
3. *Vie de St. F. de Sales.* Par M. HAMON. 6e. Edition. Paris: Lecoffre. 1875.
4. *Histoire du B. F. de Sales.* Par CHARLES AUGUSTE DE SALES, son neveu, 1634. Edition Vivès. Paris: 1879.
5. *Souvenirs Historiques d'Annecy.* Par le CHNE. J. MERCIER. Annecy: Abry. 1878.
6. *Mémoires et documents publiés par l'Académie Salésienne.* Années 1880 à 1887. Annecy: Nierat.
7. *Etude sur St. Germain.* Par le CHNE. V. BRASIER, ex-curé de Talloires. Annecy: Abry. 1879.

THE subject of this paper is a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Francis de Sales at Annecy. The first part will contain an account of the journey thither; the second, a description of Annecy and his "sweet Savoy," with a few words on the Valais of Switzerland; the third, a brief account of an extension of the pilgrimage to Turin and Rome.

The first place associated with him which the English pilgrim to Annecy arrives at is Paris, called by St. Vincent de Paul, with particular reference to our Saint's preaching and virtues, "the theatre of the world." The Paris of to-day, with its

brilliant boulevards, redolent of the modern spirit, is different indeed at first aspect from the city of narrow streets and sober architecture which St. Francis knew; yet, when turning our back on the Northern Railway Station, we come to the unchanging Seine, and see the grand old towers of Notre Dame, and slender spire of St. Louis's Sainte Chapelle, when the Cluny Museum thrusts its mediæval walls across our path, and we catch glimpses of the Sorbonne and other time-honoured buildings, we feel that the ancient genius of the place is still alive, and that we have but to leave the beaten track in order to find the streets and stones that were blessed with the contact of his feet.

It happened that on each of his three visits to Paris he stayed in the same quarter. The first was as a student, during the long period of six years, from 1580 to 1586, when, as Charles Auguste tells us,* he lived near the church of St. Geneviève (Panthéon), in order to be near the Jesuit College of Clermont and the Sorbonne. The second was as coadjutor, for eight months in 1602, when, as the same author tells us,† he used to go down through the muddy streets from his residence in the Rue St. Jacques to the pious assemblies in the house of Madame Acarie, afterwards Sister Mary of the Incarnation. The third was for nine months, in 1618-19, helping to negotiate the marriage between the Prince of Piedmont and the Princess Christine of France, when he stayed about a quarter of a mile due west of the Sorbonne, across the Luxembourg Garden, at a house which has been rebuilt, and is now No. 10, Rue Tournon. In this neighbourhood, enjoying the generous hospitality of the first house of the Visitation, the pilgrim also tarried for three days, so that it was easy for him to discover and visit the chief places connected with the Saint. Here stood the illustrious monastery of the Capuchins, where, as a student, he used to pass long hours in the company of the Fathers. Its place is taken by another house of Capuchins, where the pilgrim had his sleeping apartment. It stands close by the ancient site, and though its stones are new, its construction is on the traditional lines, and it is easy to fancy oneself back in the Saint's time, here in this quiet inner court, with shrubs and fountain in the centre, and cloisters on the four sides, faced with trellised vines, and hung with ancient engravings of Franciscan martyrs, confessors, and doctors. Here was the church of the Carthusians, also one of his favourite visiting places. He tells us,‡ as an example of the power of Catholic ceremonies, how a Calvinist

* "Vie du B. F. de Sales," Book. I.

† *Ibid.* Book V.

‡ "Treatise on the Love of God," VIII. 10.

student was attracted into this church by the sound of the midnight bell as he was returning from a place of debauchery, and was converted to morality and the true faith by the spectacle of the white-robed fathers standing to pray, "like the angels." The remains of this church form a picturesque ruin in the Luxembourg Gardens. The palace itself was the residence of the hereditary patrons of his family, the Princes of Luxembourg and Martigne, where, as a student, he would have to pay his respects from time to time, and where he probably attended as coadjutor to receive the widowed duchess's commands to preach his famous funeral sermon over her husband. Here again stood the church of St. Estienne des Grès (Grecs), the frequent witness of his devotion to Our Lady of Good Deliverance, before whose statue he was delivered from his agonizing temptation to despair, by reciting the Memorare. The church is demolished, but the statue is most religiously preserved in the chapel of the *Dames de St. Thomas de Villeneuve*, Rue de Sèvres, the walls of which are literally covered with the records of graces received there. The good Sisters tell with exultation of their deliverance during the Commune, when two chains, which prevented the Versaillois from coming to their rescue, were broken by a single shell in a manner which seemed miraculous both to themselves and to the soldiers. The church of St. Benoît, just behind the Sorbonne, is probably that church of the title wherein, as he was mounting the pulpit to preach during the Octave of Corpus Christi, he was informed that he had been accused to King Henry IV., on the capital charge of joining in Biron's conspiracy, but preached as calmly as if he had heard nothing. This street of St. André des Arts reminds us of the Advent with which his third visit began in the church of that name, now destroyed. In the Rue St. Jacques was St. Edmund's monastery of the English Benedictines, founded in 1615, which Weldon tells us* that he frequented on this third visit, assisting on one occasion with Gifford, the saintly English Archbishop and Duke of Rheims, at the Vespers of a priest's first Mass. It is an interesting fact that this very house became the Second Visitation monastery of Paris, founded by St. Jane, four years after the death of St. Francis. The Second Visitation of Paris was re-founded in the Rue de Vaugirard. It had the privilege of being governed during many years by Mother de Sales Chappuis, whose cause of beatification is being introduced, and who, in conjunction with Père Brisson, founded the Oblate Fathers and Sisters of St. Francis de Sales in 1875. The mother house is at Troyes; they have houses also in Paris and in various parts of

* "Chronological Notes," ch. xli.

France, and at the Cape of Good Hope. The First Visitation of Paris began in the Rue St. Antoine, not more than a mile from the Rue St. Jacques, but across the Seine. It was close to the Bastille, whence the fearful peril incurred by the Sisters at the taking of that prison. This monastery is now in the Rue d'Enfer-Rochereau, having attached a magnificent church and high-school. These two houses keep vigorously alive in Paris the spirit of their founder. The Third Paris Visitation, which was founded in 1640 in the Rue du Bac, is now at Boulogne. The Visitation of Chaillot, which was not restored after the Revolution, was just outside ancient Paris, on what is now the Trocadero. It was intimately connected with James II. and his Queen, who there became acquainted with the Treatise on the Love of God, and formed their spiritual life upon it, calling it the greatest of books. The First Visitation of Paris has inherited some of the treasures of Chaillot, including letters, contemporary records of miracles said to be worked at the King's tomb, and a copy of the "Introduction," marked by his son, who is generally called by French Catholics James III. of England.

The "Association of St. Francis de Sales," the special "Œuvre" of the saintly Ségur, is another great institution recalling our saint in Paris. It is a sort of interior "Propagation of the Faith," which is widely spread throughout France, and has its headquarters in Paris. It issues monthly bulletins, and at present is giving in them a series of illustrated descriptions of scenes, towns or houses associated with the saint. The last memento of him in Paris, which space can allow to be mentioned here, is the monumental church of the Sacred Heart, which dominates the city from the heights of Montmartre. The fire of this devotion was kindled on the altar of his love, though his daughter had the mission of carrying it into the hearts of the faithful.

But more precious and substantial than these memories and associations of our saint with places and persons in Paris, are the autographs and other documents which are to be found there. Here are the results of inquiries and examination during two short days:—

In the Bibliothèque Nationale there are two autograph letters, one in a volume of letters addressed to the Duke of Nemours, another exposed in a glass case as a chief treasure of the library. There are other important pieces also, of which an account will be given elsewhere.

At the Bibliothèque Mazarine there are several short autograph letters, and a copy of the great letter to the Filles-Dieu of Paris, with the inscription in French: "This is a copy of the one which is enshrined in the silver reliquary."

There are also nine or ten MS. folios of the history of the Visitation.*

At St. Geneviève's there is a MS. entitled on the outside "Traité sur les curés par B. F. de Sales." Inside, the author admits that it is not by the Saint, but says that it is almost the same as one which had been printed among his works, but was afterwards withdrawn. It begins with a few passages from his printed works on the general subject of obedience to the Church. The rest is a series of extracts from Popes, Councils, and Fathers on the parochial system, followed by a violent attack on regulars as directors of the faithful. It may have formed an element in the great controversy in which our Saint's friend Camus took so active and unworthy a part.†

At St. Sulpice is one of the MS. volumes of "Analysis of Philosophy," in Latin, spoken of by Hamon (I. 42). Another volume is at the Great Seminary of Grenoble. Both volumes, and perhaps others, seem to have strayed from the library of the family of Sales at Thorens. This volume is exquisitely clear and neat, but minute in character (as his private notes often were), contracted and stenographic. One reads with emotion the various dates, particularly March 7, 1586, entered in honour of St. Thomas Aquinas.

At the two Visitations there are various autograph letters and fragments, some unpublished, and the pilgrim had the satisfaction of discovering a letter in the *conciergerie* of a private mansion. It is framed, and within the frame, round the letter, are linen threads with an ancient inscription stating that they are taken from the room where the Saint died at Lyons. One gets an idea of the value attached to these remains when one learns that the poor family who inherited this from a former *curé* of Thorens, refused to treat with a lady who, they were told, was prepared to give over £250 for it.

Leaving Paris for Annecy the pilgrim casts a wistful glance towards Orleans, which he had not time to visit. It is a city singularly knit with our Saint's memory. Its people had an extreme veneration for him. He visited it two or three times, and he took particular interest in the foundation of the Visitation

* MS. 1120 (2284) of the Bibliothèque Mazarine seemed important for the history of our English martyrs. At the end is "Discours envoyé de Londres à Monsieur de Salis sur le martyre de deux prêtres arrivé 1613 [Editor of Weldon says 1612], dont l'un Scot. O.S.B. l'autre Newport séculier." Signé P. du F. 18 feuilles.

† Among the "Preuves" at the end of the Life by Charles Auguste we find (No. 65): "Fragments de l'œuvre de F. de Sales sur l'origine des cures. Nous avons l'original écrit par la main de V. Favre son Confesseur." This statement would require examination.

there in 1620, when the Carmelite superioress was that eldest daughter of Madame Acarie's, who was, twenty years earlier at Paris, "not only," he says, "my spiritual daughter but also my favourite."* The number of his miracles was so great at Orleans immediately after his death, that a special commission was issued for that city, the commissioners being the Archbishop of Bourges and Aubespine, Bishop of Orleans. In their report, seven years after his death, they mention that they do not include two thousand other miracles worked at the Visitation, not because they were not certain, but because the witnesses had not been juridically examined. In a letter sent with this report, the Bishop of Orleans states that he had succeeded, by a very strong exercise of authority, in making his priests give up the practice which they had begun of saying Mass in his honour, but that he had been quite unable to prevent other public and private manifestations of devotion to him. This enthusiasm became a positive hindrance to his Beatification, as anticipating the decision of the Church, and two special commissions had to be appointed to inquire into it.

But Orleans and its Salesian memories and treasures had to be left, and soon the rapid train, running by Sens and other places closely connected with those exiled English saints whose memory our Saint tells us he was continually recalling, brought the pilgrim to Dijon. The very name awakens a thousand associations, and the place itself seems to breathe of the two Saints. Here, as in his time, there is "truly a good people," and here, more even than at Paris, we feel that we are in his footsteps, walking the same streets, looking on the same scenes. Here, in the Rue Brulard, is the house where St. Jane was born. This church of St. John, on our right, this square of Spanish-gabled houses, these noble buildings, anciently the Duke's palace, in the rich massive Burgundian style, half Moorish, half Gothic, are as he found and left them. Here is the actual cathedral of St. Bénigne, and next to it the old cathedral, now used as a town storehouse, where he preached that Lent of 1604, and the two Saints first met, as she sat opposite to him, and riveted one another's gaze for an instant. At Dijon, as elsewhere, the pilgrim enjoyed the hospitality of the Visitation, founded here by St. Jane herself, surely with special satisfaction, during St. Francis's lifetime. At this convent there are several of his autograph letters, and a part of the original process of her canonization. In the town library there is no autograph, except a brief Latin inscription in Paleotti's "*De bono senectutis*," wishing President Frémyot "the best goods of old age." The book

* "*Letters to Persons in Religion*," III. 36.

is kept under a glass case with other treasures. In the archives of the Department there is nothing which attaches directly to St. Francis, but there are many of the parchments and papers belonging to the Abbey of Puits d'Orbe (so often referred to in his letters), which was in the now suppressed diocese of Langres. The abbess and elder nuns refused to adopt the reform which was proposed by the Saint in 1609, and fell back into a state of great laxity, while her sister Frances, who was prioress, and the younger nuns, tried to carry it out. The monastery was translated to Chastillon-sur-Seine, in 1618, and shortly fell under the interdict of its superior, the prior of St. Jean de Moustiers, remaining thereunder for twenty years. The various disputes were only settled by the interposition of the king and the impoverishment of the abbey. The abbess, who lived till after 1644, behaved very ill. She is, perhaps, the one exception referred to in those words of St. Jane, in her deposition as to the Saint's spiritual wisdom: "All his penitents made continual progress in the spiritual life, except perhaps one." The history of these things is given in the great history of Burgundy by the Benedictines. Dom Martene, in his "*Voyage Littéraire* of 1717, says * that he saw letters of St. Francis's which were preserved at Puits d'Orbe, and which were said to have cured the confessor of the nuns; he saw also the pulpit and confessional which he had used, and records the tradition of various miracles and prophecies in connection with the abbey. In the municipal archives is preserved the original letter in which our Saint accepts the invitation from the town council to preach the Lent, also a letter from the Archbishop of Bourges on the same subject, and a quaint list of expenses incurred.

A visit to Dijon naturally included a pilgrimage to the birth-place of St. Bernard at Fontaines, two miles from the town; a shrine where our Saint often said Mass during that famous Lent. The present castle, with its attached church, is more recent than St. Bernard's time, but the parish church of St. Martin, which stands with them on the top of a rocky eminence, rising sheer from the vast Burgundian plain, is extremely ancient and interesting. A college of missionaries of St. Bernard has been lately established here, who have care of the shrine and pilgrimage. They possess a rib of St. Bernard and an authentic portrait. A great development of devotion to St. Bernard is hoped for from the celebration of the eighth centenary of his birth in 1891.

From Dijon to Lyons the country is very similar to that

* Vol. I. pt. i.

between Paris and Dijon, the flat banks of the Saone taking the place of those of the Yonne. The chief feature is the *côtes*, or ranges of mounds, which give its name to the department, planted to their summits with the low vine of Burgundy. Here and there one glimpses the Jura mountains, their snow-crested ridges showing in faint blue on the furthest horizon. At Villefranche, the white walls of Ars, across the river, bring the thought of the austere sweetness of the peasant priest into harmonious contrast with the sweetly hidden austerity of the high-born bishop, like a delicious blending of wild and cultivated flowers.

Lyons, the magnificent, spreading round its two broad rivers, and rising proudly on its amphitheatre of hills, seems almost to belong to our Saint's own country. Here he often visited, here his works were printed, here his Order threw out its first branch, and received its great modification and final shaping, here he gave his last display of heroic virtue, and died. Here, too, his heart rested, until the Revolution forced his daughters to transfer it to a safer refuge. It is at Venice. The room where he died, formerly the cottage of the gardener of the Visitation, now forms part of a *gendarmerie*, but leave is given to visit it. The Visitation at Lyons is represented by one house out of the three which existed before the Revolution. It is a very handsome new building, and stands on the highest point of the hill immediately above Our Lady of Fourvières. The Mother Superior is labouring for the cause of Beatification of the venerable Sister de Rémusat, as the Mother of the second Visitation of Paris for that of Mother Chappuis, so vital still is the spirit of the Father in the daughters.

The number of autographs at Lyons is not what might be expected from the closeness of its association with our Saint, and from the devotion of the Lyonnese to him. The great library has none, though rich in early printed editions, and none could be found in private houses. The Presbyteries have a few fragments. The Visitation is naturally the richest. Here there are several important autographs, also the original bull of foundation of the Institute, and an authentic miniature given by St. Francis to St. Jane, and by her to the Duchess of Montmorency. There are also several great relics, and the Pilgrim had the privilege of using the cruets which the Saint used at his last Mass. The church of St. Francis de Sales possesses magnificent relics of its patron, including one autograph letter.

Leaving Lyons for Annecy, after thirty miles of flat country the scene changes, as by magic, at Ambérieux; and as the train rushes into the valley of the swift tumultuous Serrant one gets the first view of the beauty of nature which fed our Saint's mind and poetic soul. The stream accompanies the railway, flowing

through romantic gorges, spanned here and there by deep round arches on high piers. The mountains rise high on either hand, bare at the tops, but cultivated up to the last grain of mould. Sometimes they are sharp cut like masonry, their strata showing with a regularity and colour to delight geologist and artist. Occasionally a distant snowy point rises above their crests. The trellises stand ready (it is May 2nd) and little fascines of poles; the black stems of the vine are as yet but half hidden by their leaves. The paths and courses are drawn zigzag, to conduct as harmlessly as may be through the precious enclosures the tiny but impetuous spring torrents. Sometimes the mountains recede, and allow a lower range of still more fertile and well cultivated hills to intervene, green to their summits, and crowned often with a statue of the loving Mother, whose blessing seems to give them their fertility. At intervals silvery cascades give movement to the scene, and with dark caves and pines bring into brighter contrast the young green of the vines and tender corn and grasses. Romantic ancient villages, with an alternation of broad and of peaked roofs, and with vine-wreathed balconies, nestle in the valleys or boldly climb the steepes. One of them is Virieux-le-Grand, where resided Honoré d'Urfé, the renowned author of "*L'Astrée*," a friend of St. Francis and of Camus; and before this we passed St. Rambert, whither that nobleman came in the inclement January weather, to meet the funeral *cortège* on its way from Lyons to Annecy, kneeling in the mud, as Charles Auguste tells us,* while with floods of tears he prayed aloud to his sainted friend. Here is Culoz (Cule), whither came on the same occasion, and for a like purpose, the Lord of Rochefort and others. A nobleman named Fabry protested against their show of devotion as excessive, saying they could do no more for a canonized Saint, and was struck dumb and blind until he humbled himself for his presumption—"Touch not mine anointed."† Now the crystal lake of Bourget fills up what fails of stream or mountain. Across it lies Hautecombe, the Westminster Abbey of the house of Savoy, a modern but interesting structure, in our Saint's day a magnificent Gothic monument, at whose grandeur he marvels, saying, "it is harder to restore than to build."‡ Aix-les-Bains, modern as it looks, with its English-like villas peeping from amidst its terraced groves, has its ancient quarter, and its close memories of him, and chiefly of that pilgrimage of his Penitents of the Cross, from Annecy and Chambéry, to venerate the relic of the true Cross then preserved at Aix, in the days when his fervour was beginning to inflame the cold hearts of traditional easy-going Catholics,

* Book X.

† Ps. civ. 15.

‡ Letter to F. Girard, 1594.

the days of the first exploits of this Knight of the Cross, preparing for his supreme victories in the Chablais and throughout the world.

From Aix to Annecy the scenery is not greatly unlike what we have had between Ambérieux and Aix, but at first more simple and pastoral. The meadows and meadow-vineyards, surrounding the homely farmsteads, spread wider before the slopes are reached. And the slopes themselves are lower, though the snowy heights beyond, Semnoz and Marcellin and La Tournette, are nearer and more frequent. As we approach Annecy, we have the torrent of the Fier rushing by and beneath our track, ceaselessly ploughing deeper and deeper in the sandstone its terrific gorges.

Ah! Annecy at last—and in a few moments the pilgrim is in the Chaplain's rooms at the "Sainte Source" of all the houses of the Visitation. Here he will have the privilege of staying for some weeks, saying mass daily at the shrine, and devoting his time to the study of the documents which are most generously brought together for him and put at his disposition.

It need scarcely be said that Annecy is the central point of interest and information touching St. Francis de Sales. Here, at the Collège Chappuis, he was educated from the age of nine to thirteen; here he resided from the time of his election to the provostship of Geneva until he began his work in the Chablais, and here he lived as coadjutor and bishop from 1598 till his death in 1622. The town seems like one great relic; every street, every important building, almost every ancient house is redolent of him. Here chiefly he worked and prayed, and showed forth his heavenly virtues. Here he composed his writings, founded and trained his Order, exercised his episcopal functions, held his synods and ordinations; and here, after their unceasing earthly labours, the sacred bodies of father and daughter calmly rest in their shrines over the altars of God. Let us speak first of Annecy itself. It is an industrious, thriving city of some 11,000 inhabitants, capital of the department of the Haute Savoie, situated on an airy plain twelve hundred feet above the sea-level, at the north-west corner of the lake of the same name, which is the largest in France. It lies about twenty miles off the direct Mont Cenis route, on a branch-line from Aix which continues through La Roche to Geneva. From La Roche it is easy to get to Chamouny, so that Annecy lies almost in the path of travellers from England or Paris to Mont Blanc. Its climate is most salubrious, and its scenery strikingly beautiful in a land of beauty—whether one look out upon the mountain-girdled lake, or inland, from the top of the gentle slope on which the city stands, over the fair scene through which our journey had brought us.

Annecy has a special character, again, from the fact that its lake discharges itself through its midst in many channels, natural and artificial, so that the swift stream, with the silvery trout—the badge of the town—playing in its limpid waters, is ever appearing at unexpected moments with a renewed charm and brightness.

In the time of St. Francis Annecy was a closely walled town with scanty suburbs. Since then the walls have decayed and almost entirely disappeared, and the outskirts have been absorbed and extended. In fact, a new town has been added; but still the old town remains as it was, clustering round its canals, with alteration of but a few individual houses. The stranger who enters from the railway station, and follows the main street, the Rue Royale, towards the lake, till he comes to the Rue Notre Dame, which enters it at right angles on his right, will have the new town on his left and the old on his right. The new part is honoured by the presence of the actual Visitation and the shrine of the Saint, but except for this its neat common streets and plain houses have no interest for us. *Our* Annecy we find in the rest of the Rue Royale, this Rue Notre Dame which we have reached, and the streets through and into which, changing its name here and there, the Rue Notre Dame will lead us, over two branches of the river. The chief feature of these old streets is that the front of the first floor is supported on massive stone pillars of various shapes, round, square, oblong, obeliscal, often with excrescent buttresses. This forms a colonnade of grateful shade in summer, and a protection against the snow in winter. Another feature of old Annecy is the romantic tunnels which form bye-ways between its chiefter streets, and whose quaint and varying archways frame delicious little “bits” of river, bridge, or ancient building. Some of these tunnels, however, are not thoroughfares, and the stranger may find himself enticed into a sort of square well into which has been thrown the garbage of the houses, three or four-storied, that form its sides. While beating a hasty retreat he may take the satisfaction of knowing that his senses have come into closer contact with the Annecy of St. Francis de Sales than they would have done if he had not strayed from his path. The architecture of most of these old houses is Tudoresque, heavy but noble, their dark grey relieved by mullions and canopies, and occasionally by effigies, in lighter coloured stone. There are dark-brown Swiss houses too, particularly near the castle; and Piedmontese, their fronts laced, as it were, with wooden balconies connecting the outthrust wings, and having gaunt dormers topped by crazy weather-cocks. We seem to see our Saint walking through these streets, between these very houses, now as a young boy distinguished among his livelier

companions for his angelic modesty and a gravity beyond his years, but chiefly we see him as bishop, in rochet and *camail* and square cap, with grave benignant face and eyes full of loving interest. He is going at early morn, accompanied by his chaplains or confessor, to say Mass in his cathedral or at his dear Visitation; or it is later in the day, and he is unaccompanied save by his beloved people, who line his path to salute and be saluted, to make their little gratefully-accepted offerings of *liards*, or eggs or apples—the children running on after one blessing to get in line again for another. And now he is passing more gravely in the annual procession of “the catechisms”; or in his sacerdotal vestments, a very air of heaven about him, while in solemn triumph and entranced devotion he bears the most blessed Sacrament. Such memories of God’s Saint haunt these old-world sacred streets.

But now let us leave them, and enter the churches. The first, of course, must be his actual shrine. After the Revolution, the efforts of the Sisters to get back their home proving fruitless, a new monastery was built, with a handsome church, to which the relics of the two Saints were transferred with great solemnity in August 1826. The monastery, which is a large plain building surrounded by very high walls, remains the same, but the church has been replaced, within the last few years, by a larger and handsomer building. It is dedicated “to St. Francis de Sales, Doctor of the Church, and to Blessed Mary of the Visitation.” It is in Italian style, and consists of sanctuary, nave, two aisles separated from the nave by pillars supporting round arches; two small chapels of Our Lady and St. Joseph, respectively on what would be the north and south sides if the altar faced the east, and one large chapel of the Seven Dolours, opposite to the nuns’ choir, and, like it, opening into the sanctuary with a large grille. The materials of the inside are stone, painted cream colour and panelled, and fine yellow marble. There is a clerestory, with round lights and a grand dome over the middle of the sanctuary. Scrollwork, inscribed with the titles of the Saint, runs all round the architrave. The idea of the church is to make all the parts point or tend towards the body of St. Francis, which reposes in a magnificent shrine of crystal and silver-gilt over, but slightly back from, the high altar. The altar is raised on many steps from the sanctuary, as the sanctuary from the nave, and is made of yellow marble and malachite; its candlesticks and other furniture all richly gilt. Flowers are never used. The sacred bones are not actually seen, as they are covered with rich episcopal vestments, the face, hands, and feet being in wax, after the Roman manner. Over the shrine stands a marble statue of St. Francis, so lighted that a sort of halo is almost always playing

round the head. The altar, with shrine and statue, is framed by white marble pillars of great height, on the top of which is a group representing the Visitation. At the head of the south aisle, on a line with the communion rail of the sanctuary, is the altar of St. Jane, with a shrine over it like that of St. Francis. Corresponding with this in the north aisle is the altar of the Sacred Heart, with a shrine over it containing the relics of St. Castus, a Roman martyr. Some forty large silver and silver-gilt lamps, lighted by the offerings of pilgrims, hang in groups at the corners of the sanctuary and on each side of the altar of St. Jane. The Chapel of the Seven Dolours and the façade of the church are not yet completed. The roof is vaulted and richly painted, the floor a mosaic of white and dark marble. The general effect is a chastened richness, and a marvellous air of peace and heavenly presences pervades the sacred fane, whether when it is thronged with the devout multitude or in the rarer hours when the worshipper is alone with the Saints and God.

Besides the bodies of the two Saints, there are many most venerable relics of them at this Visitation, of which the following is a partial list :

1. Parcels of the dust into which St. Francis's virginal flesh had turned, collected at the different openings of the shrine. This has an apparently miraculous perfume, which attaches also to the Bull of Canonization preserved here.

2. An alb worn by the Saint, which the pilgrim had the privilege of using at Mass, together with the vestments with which the sacred body was clothed in the shrine for forty years.

3. The veil which St. Jane wore when the dead hand of St. Francis was seen to press her head, while his body was entire, on the occasion of its first exhumation.

4. The old worn *gilet* which he said "would last him one more winter," with wax on it from the candle used at his Extreme Unction, and marks of sweat.

5. His black *soutane*, and his slippers.

6. Another *soutane*, which St. Jane wove for him, asking him to give its value to the poor.

7. Old silk stockings which he used at episcopal functions, with stains coming from the wound in his leg.

8. St. Jane's dress, shoes, brush, &c.

9. A New Testament, with a note in his own hand, saying that chapters iv. v. vi. vii. of St. Matthew resume the spirit of the Visitation.

The other relics of him are chiefly his autograph works, which will be described further on. There is one of these which it is hard to classify, as it is hard to exaggerate its preciousness. This is the famous "Book of Life," the original *Register of vows*

of the Sisters of Annecy, beginning with St. Jane. At the beginning is a prayer, written by St. Francis's own hand, begging that all the names written in that book may also be written in the Book of Life.

Our next place of pilgrimage is by the lake side, at the opposite extremity of the town, which, however, it requires but ten minutes to traverse. It is the *former* shrine of the Saint, attached to the ancient First Monastery of the Visitation, where the bodies reposed from the time of the deaths of the two Saints until the Revolution. It is the church of which he laid the foundation-stone, and which he helped to build, though it had to be enlarged by Mother de Blonay to accommodate the ever-increasing multitude of pilgrims. These, then, are the walls perfumed with the miraculous odour which exhaled from his body, this was the chief scene of his astounding miracles. We say *his*, because St. Jane, as if out of humility, worked none here. Already before his canonization thirty-six dead had been raised to life in this church, and innumerable lesser corporal miracles had been worked. Alas! from the Revolution till now it has been used for base and common purposes. Let us look at its western front from the little square of St. Francis de Sales. Over the main door is a baker's sign; another door, formed from what was originally a window, has the sign of an hotel; half a dozen modern windows have been opened in it; the niches have lost their statues, but otherwise its Doric façade is uninjured. The other walls are hidden in their lower part by the old monastery on the one side and by an aftergrowth of mean houses on the other, but the tops of the great buttresses and all the upper part of the church are visible. Inside, the pillars remain, and rough floors and partitions have been constructed. One half of the ground floor is occupied by a baker's mill and ovens, the other half by a blacksmith's forge. Such of the upper part as is not used by the hotel next door is inhabited by poor families. The desecration is very awful, but, thank God, the building is at last in Catholic hands again, and in a few months will be restored to decency if not to its old magnificence. The presbytery of the parish church of St. Maurice is a part of the old monastery, the ancient choir being the priests' dining-room. From the low tower which still stands there ran a gallery over a now covered canal, by which the sisters could pass to the island-garden, the Pré Lombard, now occupied by the Hôtel de Ville and public gardens, which was given them by the Duke de Nemours when they sacrificed their former garden for the enlargement of the church.

Standing at this tower, and looking towards the lake, we see

on the right front a still more ancient memorial of the two Saints, the cradle of the Visitation Order, *La Galérie*. It is the house which the Sisters occupied till they were forced to seek a more commodious habitation; it was the first witness of their heroic virtues, and the place where they earned their name of Saintes-Marie, and Sisters of Visitation. It was just outside the walls of the town which ran where we are standing. A few of the ancient rooms remain; amongst them the room where the three first mothers lived and slept, Sister de Blonay being obliged to sleep on the landing for want of room. But the chief memorial here, and in some respects the most venerable spot in all Annecy, is the tiny chapel of *La Galérie*, with its thick walls, its two Gothic slits of windows, and its heavy iron-mounted door, where those heavenly caged birds, as their founder called them, learned to sing and sang the praises of God, where their vows were plighted, where the first flames of their devotion burst forth, where he so often said Mass and gave his conferences. On leaving this house in 1612 for the monastery just described, they sold it, and could not get it back till 1658, when it was annexed to the Second Visitation of Annecy which had been built close by in 1634, with large house and church. There is in the archives of the first monastery an exquisite MS. account of the return of the Mère Fichet, the sole survivor of the first mothers, to her old home, with precious souvenirs of her founder and early companions. The monastery and church—that building with the long flight of steps—are now occupied by the Sisters of St. Joseph, a congregation founded by Maupas, Bishop of Puy, on the principles of St. Francis de Sales, soon after the Saint's death, and now spread throughout Savoy, the rest of France, England, and America. These sisters here have the care of the chief charitable establishment of the town, with large day schools. The heart of Charles Auguste was found in the ancient grille.

Next in interest comes the cathedral, a plain, substantial edifice. It had been the Church of the Cordeliers, but was assigned by Pope Paul III. for the use of the exiled bishop and chapter of Geneva, and became their exclusive property in 1771. It was only in 1821 that Annecy was made a diocese, "in honour of the glorious tombs of St. Francis de Sales and St. Jane-Frances de Chantal, and in acknowledgment of the hospitality which it had given to the Bishop of Geneva from 1535."* If the Visitation Chapels were the chief scenes of his private devotion, this venerable cathedral was the principal theatre

* Bull of Pius VII.

of what we may call his public sanctity, and of his outbursts of zeal for his people and the whole Church. Here he preached his retreats and solemn discourses, sometimes appearing irradiated with supernatural light; here he held his synods and officiated on the chief feasts, and, above all, here, in a little corner near the door for easier access, was his confessional, always surrounded by the devout and the miserable. Who can say the miracles of grace which took place there!

There are now two parish churches in Annecy. The first is Notre Dame de Liesse (*Joy*), which, in the time of our Saint, was not a parish church, though the sole parish church then existing at Annecy depended upon it. It was a college of Augustinian canons, between whom and the diocesan canons arose the strife for precedence which marked the first years of his episcopate, and in which he displayed that unshakable firmness which united with moderation and sweetness in his perfect character. It was here that the holy winding-sheet was exposed, just before his birth, when his mother prayed so earnestly for a blessing on her expected child, and here that the dove perched upon his shoulder and breast while preaching. There was a famous pilgrimage to Our Lady of Joy every seven years, on the 7th, 8th, 9th September: St. Vincent Ferrer preached it in 1402. The church has been rebuilt in Renaissance style, on lines much smaller than those of its old Gothic architecture. The statue of Our Lady, however, is the same. The presbytery was anciently the council chamber of the syndics.

The other parish church is that of St. Maurice, close to the former monastery of the Visitation. It has a rugged, unshapely Gothic front, with heavy buttresses, and the style of the interior corresponds. In our Saint's time it belonged to the Dominicans, but after the Revolution it took the place and title of the destroyed parish church of St. Maurice, which stood near the castle. This church was specially dear to the Saint. He used to say: "I have three favourite churches in Annecy: the first is the Cathedral, my spouse; the second is the Visitation, the church of my daughters—I consecrated it; the third is the Dominicans', my brethren." Here he made his first Communion and was confirmed. His pulpit is here, of handsome carved wood, from which were spoken so many of those words of power and unction which electrified and sanctified his flock.

Besides those mentioned, there were six public churches and chapels at Annecy. Of these the most interesting is that of the Poor Clares, which was next door to his second residence. It was under the direction of the Cordeliers, but he often preached there, and, as he tells us, with special fervour. He also held ordinations there sometimes, that the poor sisters might have the benefit of

the wax candles which were offered by the candidates.* It is now a cotton factory.

There was a church of Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, just outside the walls, near St. Claire, where the inhabitants of the suburbs could hear Mass on the not unfrequent occasions when the gates were closed. It contained the body of B. Andrew of Antioch. The church is now a military dépôt, the hospital which was attached to it, and was served by the religious, is now a barrack.

There was a convent of Capuchins, dedicated to St. James, outside the walls, near *La Galérie*, which was founded in the year the Saint left Annecy for the Chablais. It is now the civil alms-houses.

There was a church of St. John Baptist belonging to the Genevese commandery of the Knights of St. John, whose site is represented now by the Puits St. Jean, close to the present Visitation. Here it was that our Saint established his confraternity of Penitents of the Cross.

There were also a chapel of Our Lady of Compassion, in the northern suburbs, and a chapel of St. George, which existed as late as 1854, on the Pont Morens.

The place of these monuments of piety, now destroyed or perverted from their original destination, is amply supplied by others. There is, first, the Great Seminary of Annecy, an institution which our Saint vainly tried to establish, which is in a most flourishing condition, and possesses the largest library in Savoy, including a perhaps unique collection of lives of St. Francis. There are the "Missionaries of St. Francis de Sales," a congregation founded in 1836 by Mgr. Rey, Bishop of Annecy. They have houses throughout the diocese, in the places chiefly connected with their patron—Annecy, Thorens, Allinges—with flourishing colleges at Evian and Melan. They have several missions in England and in India. The Capuchins have a new church and convent just outside the town. There are also an establishment of Brothers of Christian Doctrine and various houses of active sisters.

After the churches our steps naturally tend towards the two houses in which our Saint as Bishop dwelt at Annecy. The home of every great man is interesting, as the scene of events in

* There is a very interesting series appearing at present (1888-9) in the "Annales Franciscaines," entitled "Deux St. François," on the connection of the seraphic patriarch and his children with his saintly namesake of Sales, by Père Edouard, O.S.F., who has made special researches on the subject, and discovered two or three unedited letters.

his life, as having developed and as illustrating his character. It is the frame of his picture. A Saint's home on earth has a stronger interest, in its bearing upon his virtues, its connection with his miracles. Its aspect and its walls, the size and shape of its rooms, its very doors and windows, are connected with his practice of poverty, of recollection, of humility, of charity to God and man. The home of a Saint is more than the framing of a picture, it is the setting of a jewel, receiving and giving lustre. This is specially true of our Saint, the Saint of homely virtues, who so greatly loved his home, who ever sought and found the materials of sanctity in what lay nearest to him. His earthly dwelling-places, then, we visit with a particular devotion. His first palace was the *Maison Lambert*, a square-cut compact building, exactly opposite the cathedral. An inscription records its connection with him. It and the cathedral were built by Peter Lambert, Bishop of Caserte. This house was rented by the Saint as by his predecessor, and was the scene of his virtues till 1610. Here Marie Aimée de Blonay felt and almost saw the angelic presences around him. Here he wrote the "Introduction," here he entertained St. Jane, and hither she came with her companions to take the blessing of their father and founder before going to La Galérie. Here, too, his body lay hidden for a time during the Revolution, after the Revolutionists had wreaked their fury upon a corpse which had been cleverly substituted for it. An old crone, whom the pilgrim met on the dark staircase during his explorations, told him with exultation of the miraculous cure of her aunt, when a little girl, by the virtue of the precious deposit. A door from this *Maison Lambert*, with the little hammer with which he used to knock, has been built into a wall of the Church of the First Visitation at Paris.

But still more closely identified with him is the *Hôtel Favre*, the home of his maturest years and virtues, which his friend Favre lent him on leaving Ancey for Chambéry in 1610. It is about five minutes' walk from the cathedral, to the south-west, along the riverside and across a bridge. The gateway and some of the chief rooms are on the Rue Ste. Claire. Entering the large square courtyard one sees in the corner opposite on the left a sort of tower. In this a handsome marble doorway, with detached pillars and frieze, gives access to a spiral stone staircase, with roof also of stone, finely groined, and having sacred monograms carved on bosses at the intersections of the ribs. At the very top of this tower is a room where, tradition says, he used to retire to meditate and to compose the Treatise on the Love of God. The room is occupied by one of the many tenants amongst whom the building is divided, and could not be seen. Perhaps it was that bedroom of his which he used to

call the chamber of Francis de Sales, as distinguished from these other rooms of fine proportions which he called the apartments of the Bishop of Geneva. The courtyard is as closely associated with his memory as is the house itself. We seem to see it covered with snow on those nights when the disappointed and enraged nobleman led into it his pack of hounds, his servants, and the Annecy mob, and kept up all night the howling of dogs and the braying of horns, the poor bishop rising to pray because he could not sleep, and conquering at last by meekness. We see the gaunt swarthy Savoyards, with earnest faces and liquid black eyes, in their shabby-looking homespun, just as one sees them now on market days in Annecy, bringing into this court their sick and their afflicted. To-day it is "a party from the quarters of Maurienne bringing a paralysed young man" * strapped over a horse. They lay him down on straw in yon corner. It is very early; the Bishop interrupts his preparation for Mass and descends these very stairs to him, has him carried up to his chapel and laid on the credence-table during Mass. Next day and the next the treatment is repeated, the third day seeing his instant cure. Now it is a whole band of possessed persons, whose grimaces and contortions strike horror into every one who beholds them, whom he cures at once with his blessing, humbly saying that he has relieved the melancholy. Twice a week at least this courtyard is thronged with the poor, amongst whom he comes to distribute alms and still more welcome words of charity. And ever is it being crossed by visitors coming and going, men and women, of all classes and ages—from noblemen and ladies and venerable ecclesiastics, to the poor servant girl, or his baker's daughter, his little favourite Huguine—the busy and the idle, the careworn and the gay, all drawn to him by the mysterious attraction of sanctity. With such memories do these stones tingle to those who have read of the Christ in this man, until three hundred years seem to be annihilated, and he lives and breathes once more before us.

In our description of the town we must not forget one or two secular buildings. First the *Collège Chapuis*, next to St. Maurice, the scene of his youthful studies, which had been founded about twenty years before he went to it by Eustace Chapuis, ambassador of Charles V. to Henry VIII. (1529-1546). As Bishop our Saint established the Barnabites there, and it was always connected more or less with the ecclesiastical authority of Annecy until 1860, when it came under exclusively lay administration. Then there is the *Château* of Annecy, a huge four-square fortress, with seven or eight conical turrets, all of it ancient, and the

* Ch. Aug. bk. ix.

"Queen's Tower" going back to the eighth or ninth century. It is now a barrack, but in our Saint's time the Duke of Nemours-Genevois, a branch of the house of Savoy which flourished for a hundred years from 1564, held a miniature court in it, with most of the scandals and none of the advantages of a royal presence. It was all suspicion and meanness, encouragement of flatterers and ill-treatment of honest friends, giving the good bishop a world of pain and annoyance, even forcing him sometimes to quit his city until some kind of justice was done or injustice abandoned. Many a time must he have mounted this "staircase" or this "climb" of the Château to conciliate, to explain, to implore. To the memories of the Castle belong the quaint Gothic prisons at its foot, on a little island in the canal, the scenes of some of his chief manifestations of charity and miracles of grace.

And now let us turn to the loveliest part of Annecy, its lake and mountains. It shall be an evening in early summer. Let us walk through this avenue of stately planes to the north shore of the lake, the favourite promenade of Annecy, and look down its length. A ridge of mountains, rising at last to La Tournette, 7000 feet above the sea-level, fills half the heaven on our left, their lower slopes running steep down almost to the water-edge, covered with meadows of greenest grass and young crops, with churches and homesteads set in them. On their summits of monumental granite the snow still lies thick where it has been able to find a hold, throwing out their grey ribs, and sharpening the tempestuous peaks which rise round the lap-like crater of La Tournette. Stone and snow and grass are all bathed in soft transparent rose. On the right the shore is flatter before the hills begin, but there are ridges here too, and high summits further off. The lake lies calm in front of us, blue green, but limpid as clear glass, a sapphire set in emeralds. Its furthest shore we cannot see. The town lies back to our right with no striking object but the grand dark castle against the rosy sky.

Or let us, some early morning in May, turn our back on the lake, and walk inland along the Avenue de Chambéry, crossing the Thioux and taking this bye-road on our right till we come to the statue of St. Joseph and the crest just beyond it. In front there lies a fertile plain or broad valley bottom, with distant mountains, the stream of the Fier winding dark among wide white gravel beds. Turning half round on our left we face the rising valley, near the green head of which nestles the little farm which marks the site of the old Cistercian Abbey of Ste. Catherine, the centre of many memories. Turning quite back towards the town which we have just left we see it in its prettiest aspect, the great castle looming over it like some warrior who stands to guard

a sleeping child. Beyond it, separated from it by one blue line of lake, are our glorious mountains again, in misty night garments, before the sun has drunk up their clouds. Already from behind them he has pierced their mists enough to show that some are nearer and some further off. Those in the background are a shadowy purple grey; one pure white cloud, hanging over La Tournette, accentuates the muffled snows; the grass and budding firs lower down begin to show in their own colours of green on green, but all is clothed in an outer gauzy veil of thinnest haze. The soul expands and rises in such visions of beauty, and seems to come near the sources of the inspiration of the poet-saint.

And now we must pass to what directly concerns the works of St. Francis at Annecy. The Visitation there, in spite of sad losses at the Revolution, is the great deposit of his autographs. Many were left there, and have been preserved with jealous filial care; many have been presented and purchased, and there are authentic copies of a still greater number. The pilgrim himself was the bearer of precious autographs from Westbury and elsewhere to be copied. These writings are chiefly letters, sermons, and "notes," many of which have not yet been printed. There are also autograph first copies of many printed letters and *mémoires*, and autographs of the "Introduction" and "Standard of the Cross," and parts of "Les Controverses," containing things not yet published, which show in a most interesting manner the inner working of the Saint's mind, both as regards doctrine and style, and are of primary importance in the study of him as a great French "classic." The processes of canonization, which are at Annecy, also contain works which have not yet been edited, and amongst them an authentic text of "Les Controverses," of which the printed text is corrupt as well as incomplete. Of these processes of canonization there is much to be said. The biographers of our Saint, including even M. Hamon, seem to have been ignorant of a peculiarity attaching to his Beatification—viz., that there were two processes or sets of acts belonging to it. The first began four years after his death, but before it was received at Rome the legal forms used in Beatifications had been altered by Urban VIII., and these acts were put on one side as informal. Troubles and difficulties arose, and it was thirty years before they were taken up again, and, while it was then declared that there would be no difficulty in accommodating them to the new procedure, it was considered more for the glory of the Saint to issue an entirely new commission. Each process consisted of several large folios, besides collateral volumes. The first process is by much the most interesting, and in itself more important. The deponents were eye-witnesses of the facts which they deposed, and all was

fresh in their memories. At the second examination many of these were dead, and the new witnesses were in great part men who were children at the time of the events to which they bore testimony, and who had to speak on hearsay rather than from personal observation. The commissioners of the second process were careful to incorporate eighteen of the most important depositions from the first, including that of St. Jane.

At Annecy, outside the Visitation, there are various autographs in the possession chiefly of ecclesiastics. In the town library there are three or four short official pieces, enclosed with an autograph letter of Favre's to the Saint, in a glass case. In the episcopal archives there are some notes and signatures of his, and many lengthy pieces by his canons and other officers. Many of the chief literary men of Savoy are engaged upon the study of his life and writings, and Annecy is naturally in the van. No year passes without the publication there of one or more volumes on the subject. There the work is organized, in the *Académie Salésienne*, a society founded in 1879, on the model of that *Académie Florimontaine* which was started in 1607 by our Saint and his illustrious friend Favre, in the very house which we have just visited. The object of this society is the cultivation of sacred and profane sciences, with particular reference to Savoy, and its specialty lies in all that concerns the diocese of Annecy and its saintly patron. In its yearly publications there are always important monographs on his works, or on places, persons, or things connected with him, and it has published not less than twenty unedited letters. M. Dumont is the president; M. Brasier, canon and vicar-general, so well known for his works on Talloires &c., the vice-president; M. Chevalier, who has published pamphlets on "Les Controverses" and the "Standard of the Cross," secretary.*

And now we will leave Annecy itself, and make some short excursions to places in its immediate neighbourhood. First to the Abbey of Ste. Catherine, which we have just seen in that *combe*, or wooded fold of the hill, a short two miles away. The ascent begins from the little shrine of "Our Lady of the

* M. Brasier has also published at Annecy an "Etude sur St. Germain," "Historique de la cause du Doctorat de S. F. de S.," "Bibliographie Salésienne," "Notice Historiques sur les Reliques de S. F. de S.," &c. Other works published recently in Savoy or Geneva on our subject, besides those mentioned at the head of this article, are:—

"Vie de Mad. de Charmois" (Philothée), par Jules Vüy, 2 vols (with unedited letters).

"S. F. de Sales et Thonon," by l'Abbé Vittoz.

"Les Evêques de Genève depuis la Réforme," par F. Mugnier.

"S. F. de S., Docteur en Droit," &c., by the same.

"Notes Historiques sur S. F. de S.," par l'Abbé L. Bouchage, Annecy.

Children," decked this May afternoon with a hundred posies by childish hands, and leads through a half-cleared wood by the side of a bickering stream. The view well repays the labour of mounting, but of the abbey there are left only a few stones and beams of the chapel, forming one end of a granary, a cross-marked stone in a wall, a crystal everlasting fountain under its arched canopy, and "the prior's (chaplain's) garden." It was important in its day, being the place of education of many of the noble young ladies of the district, and counting relatives of our Saint among both sisters and pupils. We read in the MS. archives of the Visitation, how the "ladies of Ste. Catherine" used to walk down to the first Mothers at La Galérie, occupy their time, and make their scanty meal scantier. Their rule was of the very mildest, and their bishop's efforts to improve them were too much for their friendship and respect for him. Five of them did a good work in a faulty manner, as he described it,* leaving their monastery with some outbreaks of weak nature, but seeking a higher life; whom he established at Rumilly under a rule which was adopted by other houses of the order. The history of it all is to be read in Hamon (vi. 9), and in Père Grassy's "Life of Mother de Ballon."

Our other excursions shall be on the lake, by one of the fine steamers which ply from end to end of it several times in the day, touching at the various stations. The second out from Annecy is Menthon, the home of St. Bernard of Menthon, Arch-deacon of Aosta, founder of the hospices which bear his name.† As we steam along we get a closer clearer view of the eastern mountains and their lovely slopes. Menthon is in one of those two wide glens where they recede from the lake for a space. The castle stands on a bluff in the middle of the green slope. There is an interesting old village, with its wayside crucifix and peaceful cemetery, its old Swiss-looking houses and implements of husbandry in the fashion of far back ages. A torrent plunges through it in long leaps, and there is a fine bridge where the road turns up to the castle. This castle is ancient enough to delight the antiquary. Its grand old door of oak and iron may have resisted the soldiers of Henry IV. It is occupied by direct descendants of the original family, and every room is a collection of antiquities. There is a church of St. Bernard just at the castle gate, and the room from which he threw himself, unhurt, on to the rocks sixty feet below, on the evening of his marriage-day, is also a chapel richly furnished. Bishop Dupanloup was a frequent visitor here.

* "Let. to Pers. in Relig.," iv. 23.

† See "Treatise on the Love of God," viii. 9.

The next station on this side the lake is Talloires, famous for its Benedictine monastery, dependent on the Abbey of Savigny, in Burgundy. Like so many monasteries of our Saint's time, it had come to be contented with a relaxed rule and an ordinary Christian life, which, as he used to tell them, was insufficient in those who were called to a life of perfection. He had very early had ideas of trying to reform it, and had begged the Abbot of Savigny to send thither a young monk whom he knew, named Claude Nicholas de Coex, brother of one of his confessors, who eventually, under the Saint's direction, effected the reform,* after a fearful outbreak of rebellion on the part of one or two of the monks. The history may be found in Charles Auguste (bk. vii.) and in Hamon (bk. iv. c. ix). The building is still complete, but would seem from its style to have been rebuilt since the days of our Saint. It is a large square-fronted plain edifice, beautifully situated close to the water's edge, now white-washed and looking like a seminary or a barrack. There is a beautiful grove of tufted trees beside it. Its inner quadrangle, with well in centre, is ancient. It is now an hotel, restaurant, and *pension*, with boats on the lake, but its peace seems much too deep to be broken by any ordinary worldly gaiety. The old refectory is the public room: over its ancient mantelpiece still remains carved the word *silentium*. From here is made one of the most delightful and striking ascents possible to the ancient church and hermitage of St. Germain, monk of Talloires, which is almost on the summit of the hill above the monastery. Our Saint translated his relics from the middle of the church into the place of honour under the high altar. The account is given by M. Hamon.† "Never but once," he said, "did I feel such devotion as I felt in that church." This hermitage was the spot where he was so struck by the beauty of the scenery that he ordered the Prior of Talloires to construct him a little house there, whither he intended to retire to study and write. "Here," he exclaimed, "grand and beautiful thoughts will fall into our minds, close and innumerable as the winter snowflakes." It was then with no ordinary eyes or feelings of expectation that the pilgrim began to climb this venerable steep; nor was he disappointed. Let him be permitted to give the words as they are recorded in his diary of 12th June, 1888. "It is one o'clock on a hot summer day. I turn from the steep path to rest myself and look. I am but a little below the hermitage. I sit low in a hay-field, the grass longer than in England, and the clover tall with just a tuft of leaves on the top. Lower down is a field of heavier-headed barley, on slender stalk, cornflowers glancing

* See "Letters to Persons in Religion," i. 16.

† Bk. vi. c. ix.

brightly amongst it. Then vineyards, the dark poles not yet quite hidden. Lower still lies Talloires, its church with square tower, cupola-topped, the village with wide-spreading flattened roofs, brown red. The old monastery is just out of sight, but I know it is there behind that great round walnut. I look above me from under my grateful shade, and see the hot bare rocks around and above the hermitage, with trees here and there, single and in little groups, nut, hazel, flowering privet, and occasionally a dark pine. To right and left vineyards and straggling upper houses of the village. In every direction mountains bound the view, many still half clothed in snow. Not a human being can be seen, not an animal, only a few birds and butterflies; and naught can be heard but the crickets and waving leaves. At the foot of my hill lies the lake of Annecy in all its beauty—turquoise or opaque sapphire. Calm, for the wind breathes not down there, though it fans my cheek pleasantly up here. Yet in the shallows there is a ripple, and the colour changes to burnished silver. This is ‘the little lake,’ for Annecy’s lake is pinched into two unequal ovals by the promontories of Talloires and Duingt. The ‘great lake’ is concealed from me. The water lies quiet, smiling, in the lap of the mountains which have formed and feed it. These mountains on the opposite shore come down towards me in ridges, a regiment of seven. Six of them stop just before reaching the water, and leave a piece of level fertile shore, but one comes right down, like a great camel coming to drink, and thrusts out its tongue of land, on which the quaint old chateau of Duingt is built. The villages and houses on that side lie on the flat strip, or run up between the ridges as between spans of buttresses. Straight up one valley and over the hill is a well-marked foot-path, which makes me feel that I can reach the world again if I like, though I seem to desire never to see it again.” Finishing the ascent as far as the rocky platform in front of the church door, we have the precise view which our Saint so greatly admired, similar to what we have just seen, but making up in extent for any loss of detail, less of lake and more of snow-capped mountain, not less lovely but more sublime. The actual grotto of St. Germain, whither he used daily to ascend after the office at Talloires, is a few yards lower, and lies sideways to the lake. It is a wind-swept cave, the front supported by one pillar, in the side of a great rock-basin, full of bosky verdure, across which one looks to a cascade of a single line of glancing water, the lake far down to the right, the mountains surging above. The church, which was rebuilt from its foundations by the devout Abbé Perrey in 1829, is of interest in itself, apart from its associations with our Saint. It is dedicated to St. Bernard of

Menthon, but St. Francis de Sales is in the centre over the altar. There are statues of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica. The relics of St. Germain, which had been almost miraculously preserved during the Revolution, and which for seven years rested in the church of Talloires, were brought up to their old resting-place again on the 28th of October, 1838, the anniversary of their translation by St. Francis de Sales. They were placed in a side chapel, specially constructed for them, in 1869.

Two excursions, somewhat more distant than these, will complete our description of the Savoy of St. Francis de Sales. The first shall be to Thorens, his birthplace. The railway station for it is Groisy-le-plot, in whose church, just visible from the station, some of his family are buried, and which is four or five miles distant from Thorens, by a road running through a rich well-watered valley. The chateau of Sales, which is a handsome specimen of the ordinary French chateau—a square block, with carved and canopied windows, and conical slate-roofed turrets—stands on the edge of the village. It is not the actual house in which the Saint was born and lived, though it was the property of his father, Monsieur de Boisy. The De Campeys, from whom he had bought it, were his tenants in it. It had a famous chapel, with many privileges, in which our Saint sometimes said Mass. It has been much altered, and of late years it has been completely restored by Count de Rousset de Sales, a descendant of the Saint's family in the female line, and a near relative and heir of Count Cavour. The ancient and true Chateau de Sales, where the Saint was born, is about two hundred yards higher up the hillside. Both stand at the entrance to the lovely valley of Usilion, which is blocked at its further extremity by two terraces of mountains. It is a fit spot for a poet's birth and childhood. This chateau is described at great length by Charles Auguste in his "*Pourpris de la famille de Sales*." It was burnt down in his time, and he would not have it rebuilt, saying that his family was not worthy to live where a Saint had lived. The foundations remain and the walls up to some twelve feet. There are also a chapel and sacristy, which are said to be the room where St. Francis was born and the room next to it. At the chateau there is an authentic portrait very similar to the famous portrait at Turin. There is an autograph letter, framed, near the Count's bedside: but other autographs, described by Grillet in his "*Dictionnaire de Savoie*," were sent to M. Hamon, and did not return to Sales. There is a large glass case of relics containing many of the Saint's vestments, his holograph first will (he made two), his letters of doctorate from Padua, and several of his books. It is said that there is here an edition of the treatise on the Love of God annotated by him, but there was no opportunity

of verifying this. Returning to Thorens by a road which in his time went down and up the steep sides of a ravine now crossed by a bridge, we walk through those streets which so often saw the young Apostle teaching to his companions the Catechism lessons which he had just learnt himself, and we enter the parish church of St. Maurice, the scene of his youthful devotions and of his episcopal consecration. The greater part of the Church has been renewed, but the choir and the chapel of St. Sebastian, the chapel of the De Sales family, are the same as they were, and are full of recollections. The Church is served by missionaries of St. F. de Sales, and there is a convent of sisters of St. Joseph. At the presbytery there is a long autograph letter. Close to Groisy Station is the old Chateau de Boisy, from which the father of St. Francis took his title of M. de Boisy. It is now a farmhouse and day-school. The grand old beams remain throughout, and the chapel is recognizable.

We return to Annecy, and the next day start for the Chablais. It is a magnificent journey to Thonon, among hills, green up to a certain line, and then crowned with a diadem of light grey stone. At Evires the line ascends to a height of 2800 feet. Just before reaching La Roche, the valley of the Arve opens out before us, with Bonneville in the foreground, and beyond it the white sharp-cut cone of imperial Mont Blanc, surrounded by his snow-clad peers. In our Saint's time they were known as "*Les Glaciers*." La Roche, where he was educated till he was seven, is in the midst of this valley. It is very picturesque and venerable, with its old red roofs, its old church, a Moresque tower, a green-clad ruin. It is scarcely changed. Mont Voiron, where the Saint nearly lost his life in trying to re-establish a shrine of the Blessed Virgin, and where afterwards he established a house of hermits, begins to be visible from La Roche. It is best ascended from Bons-St.-Didier, where the blue waters of Lake Lemman enter our horizon. Thonon, the capital of the Chablais, and centre of our Saint's preaching, overhangs the lake and has its port. It looks ancient from the station, but not so ancient when seen from within. The Church of the Visitation and part of the convent were built by St. Jane. This community was first established at Evian, and during the first ten years of its existence at Thonon occupied the very house of the widow Du Foug in which St. Francis had lodged during part of the time of his mission, which was presented to them by Madame de Charmois. The buildings are homely, but the church has some good altars, and is adorned with stained-glass windows representing scenes from St. Francis's life. There are fine relics of different parts of his body, a plain mitre, and some autographs. The parish church, which is about to be enlarged, includes that Church of St.

Hippolyte in which he first began to say Mass in Thonon. From the town we visit Allinges, the fortress where he used to return to sleep and say Mass during the first part of his mission, which is about an hour's distance, on the summit of a very steep hill. At the foot there is a small chapel, marking the spot where his life was attempted. On the top there is a presbytery, where two of the missionaries of St. Francis de Sales live, and two working sisters, who manage a small farm. The walls and roof of the church are those of the old castle chapel; the rest of the castle is a ruin. On the remains of the ramparts one can still lean, as he did, and look over the same view which he saw* three hundred years ago. The blue lake, with its half circlet of mountains beyond, fills up almost the whole front from east to west. On the far east, the Diablerets and their gigantic fellows rise into the clouds. Between us and the lake, as well as close at our sides, and behind us up to the other half circlet of hills completing our amphitheatre, lies the Chablais, of which we can see the whole from here except a few fertile valleys which run behind those hills. It is a sea of verdure, with dome-shaped hills rising here and there within it like green fountains. Churches, not now ruined, but by his labours saved and restored, villages, farmsteads, cottages, dot the lovely and fertile expanse.

From Thonon the pilgrim journeyed to Sion, the capital of the Valais, in search of an autograph diary of St. Francis's work in the Chablais, which was said to exist there. It turned out to be a MS. life of Père Chérubin, his Capuchin fellow-labourer, which has since been printed at Chambéry.† But Sion has also its own associations with our Saint in that visit which he paid to it in 1614, to assist at the consecration of Bishop Hildebrand Jossé. Leaving Thonon we see the site of Ripaille, an abbey which the Duke offered to our saint for himself, and which he accepted for the Carthusians, and then we cross the Drance close to where he used to cross it, in order to say Mass, crawling on hands and knees over an ice-covered plank. The banks are low, but the stream is broad, deep, and rapid. He was able to say Mass here, because this part of Chablais, which lies east of the Drance, was occupied by the Catholic Valesians when the Bernese Calvinists seized the western Chablais. The route continues through Evian, where still exists the convent of Poor Clares whom he befriended, and where his consecrator, Vespasiani Gribaldo, died in 1623, over a hundred years old. At the college here is a fine autograph. At Bouverets we leave the lake and enter the Valais.

* Hamon ii. 2.

† Another interesting MS. on the History of Capuchin Missions in the Chablais has lately been published at Chambéry.

The rest of our route lies between the glorious mountains of the Upper Rhone, which become wilder and more sublime, as the river becomes more torrent-like, at every step. St. Maurice has its interest for us. Its Abbey of Augustinian canons is the oldest on this side the Alps. Its tower is of the Roman style and age, and there is an inscription recording the restoration of a Roman church at Sion as early as A.D. 387. Several of the Chablais benefices belonged to this abbey, and its abbot was our Saint's companion in consecrating the Bishop of Sion. There is an autograph in the grand old archives of the abbey, and another in the town, in possession of the family of De Quartéry, to one of whose ancestors it was written. At Sion the pilgrim stayed the night with the hospitable Capuchin Fathers, and in the morning visited the disused but well-preserved and most venerable cathedral, on the summit of the hill Valeria, where our Saint preached that series of controversial sermons which had so much to do with bringing back the town to Catholic unity. Half the inhabitants had embraced the so-called Reform, and strife had run so high that the civil authorities had forbidden all sermons on disputed matters, a prohibition which was providentially relaxed for him. It may be noted here that M. Hamon is mistaken in saying that the town authorities of Sion met our Saint at Morges in the canton of Vaud, which would be more than a day's journey. The place of meeting was Pont de Morges, an hour's distance.

It only remains now to give an outline of the Italian part of the pilgrim's journey. Chambéry lies on the way, with its ancient and famous Visitation, situated, with other religious houses, on the top of a high hill called Calvary. The throat of St. Francis is here, and a rib of St. Jane, and a rich collection of autographs of both saints. Turin, our next stopping place, is closely connected with our Saint, as being the capital of his country. He went there to qualify himself as advocate, he was summoned thither by the duke to give an account of the progress of his mission in the Chablais, he called there on his journeys to Rome and Milan, but his chief visit to Turin was for a period of three months just before his death, when he stayed in a narrow cell at the Monastery of the Feuillants, now the famous Church of La Consolata. The present Visitation is next door to this. The holy winding sheet, which he venerated with such devotion, and on which his tears and sweat dropped while he was exposing it for the veneration of the people, is in its own beautiful chapel at the cathedral, which is only one of innumerable fine churches here. No less than fifteen have been built since 1870.

At the Visitation there is a magnificent collection of autographs. Here also is the authentic portrait, the features of which are well

known by photographs, but in which it is most interesting to see the colours, the fresh ruddy complexion and deep-blue eyes. At the Royal Library there is one autograph, framed, and at the Grand Mastership of the Knights of St. Maurice and Lazarus there are two. There must be many also in private families. The pilgrim found one in the Barolo family, who had also possessed for some time the famous *livret*, containing the questions of St. Jane and the answers of St. Francis,* which they generously restored to the Visitation. This family had the privilege of giving a home to Silvio Pellico on his release from captivity, and he was so greatly taken with this little work that he brought out an edition of it in French with an exact Italian translation. In the state archives at Turin there is a famous collection of autographs of St. Francis, most of them on diocesan matters. These were edited by Datta, with other letters, in the two supplementary volumes of Blaise's edition, and are incorporated with the other letters in more recent editions. Some of the originals have disappeared.

The journey from Turin to Rome, rapid and unbroken though it was, had in its perfect beauty a necessary teaching for the student of St. Francis de Sales. The air is impregnated with sunshine and health-giving odours, the land is adorned as for a great *fiesta* of nature with flowers and banner-like broad-leaved shrubs, and festoons of vines from tree to flowering tree. The blue Mediterranean, laden with a thousand memories, ripples round the wood-crowned headlands into its countless bays, white fringed and softly curved. The waves laugh and dance as their beloved sunlight kisses them, and the heart and spirits respond in lightness and gladness. Yes, he is ignorant of a potent influence in the character of this half Italian-bred saint and poet who has not seen and felt—say, at Nervi or Spezzia, or Santa Margarita, the beauty, the magnetism, the thrilling *life* of an Italian May-morning by the sea.

But here is Rome and the end of our pilgrimage. Our Saint visited the Eternal City twice, once as a young man, immediately after leaving Padua, and again on his appointment to the coadjutorship of Geneva. His visits to the Seven Churches and the catacombs, his audience with Pope Clement VIII., and his examination, are carefully recorded by his historians,† and give a special impetus to the pilgrim's devotion in visiting those sacred shrines, and paying his humble filial tribute of veneration to him in whom that same supreme office is now embodied. The Tor di Specchi, also, and the Chiesa Nuova have their recorded asso-

* See "Letters to Persons in Religion," v. 2.

† Charles Auguste, Books i. iv.

ciations with him. At the former he said Mass on the feast of St. Frances of Rome in 1599, and there is a note in a MS. volume in the Vallicella Library, now confiscated for the public use, to the effect that "the Blessed Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, stayed a day and a night, according to the custom, with, the Fathers at the Chiesa Nuova." St. Philip was dead then, but one can scarcely doubt that the two Saints had met, though perhaps not to know one another, on St. Francis's first visit three years before St. Philip's death.

There are autographs and important records in most of the great libraries of Rome. The original of "*Les Controverses*" is in the Chigi library. In the Vatican library there are several original pieces, and in the Vatican archives there is a whole series of autograph letters, chiefly to the Papal Nuncio in Savoy, some of which have been published at Rome, in the sixth volume of the "*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*."

There is a convent of the Visitation at Rome, in the palace of the Cæsars, but it remains only on sufferance, and its patient inmates seem almost like prisoners. The Church of the Sacred Heart, the Chiesa Nuova of the nineteenth century, with Don Bosco's great institution attached, must be also considered a monument in Rome to our glorious Saint, the patron of Don Bosco's Orders and of all his works. And now this sketch must be concluded. The "land" of St. Francis de Sales has been visited, all the scenes closely associated with him, excepting Padua and Grenoble, have been more or less fully described; his "works" are a much larger subject, of which comparatively little has been said here because it must be treated fully elsewhere. The fact is that these "works" will shortly speak for themselves in the new edition which is about to be made, and which the writer of this paper here brings before English-speaking readers. It has long been felt by deeper students of St. Francis de Sales that such a new edition was necessary for the glory of the Saint himself, and the recent declaration of the Doctorate has made it necessary also for the glory of the Church. There are three reasons for this.

The first is, that since the appearance of the last "*Complete Works*," a quarter of a century ago, a large mass of entirely authentic unedited matter has been discovered, enough probably to fill three large volumes.

1. The posthumous work called by its editors "*Les Controverses*." This, excepting the section on the Pope, is condemned even by those who reprint it, so entirely corrupted was the Saint's text by its first editor. Migne and Vivès reproduce the note in which Blaise, while praising his amended version of this one part, destroys the authority of the rest. "This piece," he says, "already forms part of the treatise '*Des Controverses*,'

but so disfigured that we do not hesitate to offer it here as *unedited*." An English translation* has been made from the original manuscripts, but the time is more than ripe for the appearance of the French text, and further sheets have been discovered since the appearance of the English translation.

2. A large number of unprinted autograph letters, *mémoires* and "notes." Also *brouillons*, or first copies, of many of the printed works, with variations, the importance of which we have indicated in speaking of the Annecy MSS. We may include under this head various pieces which have been printed only in obscure and scattered publications.

3. Certain treatises of which the originals have not been found, but of which authentic copies exist in the processes of canonization.

The second reason for a new edition is the necessity of revising many of the printed works. These may be arranged under two general heads: *those published by the Saint himself*, of which, however, there are only three of importance—the "Introduction," the "Treatise on the Love of God," and the "Standard of the Cross"—*and those published posthumously*. The question at present is of these posthumous works, which, omitting the "Controverses," may be divided into three classes: sermons, letters, various other short writings.

1. The *sermons* must be subjected to close criticism. The greater part of them were written not by the Saint himself but by his hearers. That subdivision which is called the "Conferences," addressed to the Sisters of Annecy, may be taken as fairly correct in substance and form; very many of the others must be treated as doubtful. The first edition, 1641, was considered so unsatisfactory that St. Jane had it stopped by royal order. On the other hand, the edition of 1643, which is supposed to have been brought out according to St. Jane's directions, and which has been blindly followed in succeeding editions down to and including that of Migne, is found so faulty by Vivès, the latest publisher, that he has returned to the discredited edition of 1641!

2. The *letters* must be re-edited according to the originals, which still to a great extent exist. In their first printing, which began within three years of the Saint's death, it was almost unavoidable that parts should be omitted or slightly altered which concerned persons then living. The chief object in publishing them was edification, and this fact again led to many alterations, under an impression that there was only need to consider the substance of the doctrine. Sometimes two or three letters have

* Lib. of St. F. de Sales. Vol. III.

been shortened and joined into one, with the result occasionally of casting a doubt on the genuineness of the piece, through the apparently irreconcilable differences of part from part. Letters more recently printed have been injured by the incompetence or carelessness of their editors. This applies especially to the two supplementary volumes of Letters, published by Blaise under the authority and editorship of Datta, who was afterwards dismissed from his post of custodian of the archives at Turin for embezzlement. These letters are incredibly faulty, and have simply been incorporated with their faults in the more recent editions of Migne and Vivès.

3. With regard to the other *short writings* composed by the Saint or attributed to him, the compilers of a new edition must be prepared not only to criticize and classify and qualify as doubtful, but also boldly to omit a certain number which can be proved not to be works of the Saint at all but only of his admirers. All students of the "complete works" must have been struck with the sort of jungle of "little treatises" and "meditations" and "prayers," into which they come as soon as they leave the high road of the great works and the clear if chartless tracts of the "letters" and "sermons." The necessity and nature of an editor's work here are obvious.

The third reason that justifies, if it does not demand, a new edition, is the new light which can be thrown even upon the "Standard of the Cross," the "Introduction," the "Treatise on the Love of God," by the discovery of the Saint's autograph notes, some of them made after the last edition which was published during his life, and by the comparison of various printed and manuscript texts. This is particularly true of the "Introduction."

The great aim of this new edition must be to provide a perfectly genuine text. Such an aim is incumbent on all editors of great works, but it is imperative on those who edit a Doctor of the Church. The character of his writing makes the duty of fidelity still more urgent. His mind and style were so *fine*, his genius sometimes so subtly hidden under the *bon homme*, his theory of practical virtue is so exactly in the mean between severity and softness, that the alteration or omission of a word may spoil the effect. The harmony is so wide and full that a dissonance is liable to be introduced imperceptibly if once the true score be left. This fidelity must apply also to his orthography. If we could sacrifice something of his importance as a great writer of the French language, we must have in at least one edition the *ipsissima verba* of a Doctor of the Church. His position here is unique. He is the only doctor whose authorized works are in a tongue which is at once living and yet

not modern, which has gone since his time to a further stage of development. It seems necessary now to fix his words, and there would seem to be but one true general rule in this—viz., to give them as he wrote them, with the few interpretations necessary. At the same time, one can distinguish to the modern reader's advantage between typographical and grammatical differences, and one can use that liberty which is one of the very characteristics of his age, a liberty which makes the Saint himself spell the same word differently on the same page, to form a standard or average orthography, at least for each great work. His earlier and his later spelling are not precisely alike.

Such an edition as is here projected would seem necessary to be made by the Church herself in the absence of volunteers, but it happens that those are ready to undertake it who have all the necessary qualifications—his own daughters of the Visitation at Annecy. They possess already a large number of the autographs and other documents which are required, and they are in easy communication with those who possess the rest. They have a large practical acquaintance with the text, a familiarity with the spirit which years of study could not give, and a filial instinct which a merely adopted son or daughter could hardly acquire. They are above all sordid motives, and have but the one desire of promoting their Father's glory. And lastly, they have an immovable conviction of the necessity of fidelity to his words, a conviction which makes them humbly confident and determined as to their end and aim, without injuring their willingness to accept necessary help and guidance as to the means, a conviction which makes them reserve to themselves the right of control over their own possessions, a conviction which has made them both work and wait patiently all these years rather than produce or voluntarily tolerate anything which is not, as far as may be, a perfect representation of a perfect teaching.

HENRY BENEDICT MACKEY, O.S.B.

ART. II.—ROSMINIAN ONTOLOGISM.

1. *A Dialogue on the Late Encyclical on Liberty and the Light of Natural Reason.* By a THOMIST. London: Burns & Oates.
2. *Rosmini a Christian Philosopher*, as understood by his own School. By the Rev. STEPHEN EYRE JARVIS. Second Edition. Market Weighton: St. William's Press. 1888.

TO a Catholic it was pleasant to see how sincerely the followers of Rosmini submitted to the condemnation, by the Congregation of the Holy Office, on the 14th of December, 1887, of forty propositions of their master. Some of the letters, as, for example, those in which Father Louis Lanzoni, General Superior of the Rosminian Congregation, Father Casara of the same Congregation, Provost Aug. Moglia, Professor Jos. Rossi and others, expressed their submission, are splendid proofs of a truly Catholic spirit.* Also in England Father Lockhart, Procurator General of the Fathers of Charity, declared (*The Tablet*, March 24, 1888, p. 484), in the name of his Institute, that *as faithful Catholics and disciples of Rosmini they accept whatever comes to them with the authority of the Holy See*. He says with reason "as disciples of Rosmini," for Rosmini himself, "laudabiliter se subiecit," when in 1849 two publications of his ("*Le cinque Piaghe della Chiesa*," and "*Costituzione Secondo la Giustizia Sociale*") were proscribed; and he wrote on that occasion, like another Fénelon, the following noble words: "If we wish only what God wishes, we shall always enjoy that peace of Christ which contains every good. The unforeseen and unexpected prohibition of two little books of mine was not able to prevent me from submitting myself with all sincerity of heart to what the competent authority thought good."

After this submission of the Rosminians one might have anticipated that the controversies, which were not always conducted with the calmness that both charity and love of truth demand, and which, chiefly in the North of Italy, had increased to a fatal extent, would at length disappear. We consequently were very anxious to see the first publications issued by those who formerly professed themselves the followers of Rosmini. And, as far as we know, the above-mentioned pamphlets are the first, at least in this country, in which, after the condemnation of those propositions, the most fundamental Rosminian doctrine is again

* See a collection of such letters in *La Scienza e la Fede*, vol. cl., fasc. 889, p. 107. Napoli, 1888.

proposed. And how? We are sorry that on this point we cannot suppress our serious apprehensions.

Under the title "A Dialogue on the Late Encyclical," mentioned in the first place, nobody certainly would expect to find an apology for Rosminian ontologism. Yet this pamphlet is nothing else. We quite disapprove of the title itself, therefore, to begin with; and that chiefly for two reasons: first, because the Encyclical of the very Pope who condemned all the essential doctrines of Rosmini, is used as an argument in favour of the most fundamental of all Rosmini's errors; and secondly, because the author calls himself a Thomist instead of a Rosminian, although the Pope himself openly declared the contradiction which exists between St. Thomas and Rosmini. This is a fact which deserves attention. The decree condemning the forty propositions, though issued on the 14th of December, 1887, was kept back till the 7th of March, 1888, the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas. Under that date Cardinal Monaco, as Secretary of the Supreme Tribunal of the Holy Office, communicated the decree to the members of the Catholic hierarchy, accompanying it with a letter, in which he directs the bishops

To exercise pastoral zeal and vigilance to preserve their flocks from the poison of the condemned doctrines, to induce such as are already favourable thereto to receive with docile hearts the judgment of the Holy See; and specially to direct their efforts to the proper training of young Seminarians in the genuine doctrine of the Catholic Church, drawn from the pure source of the Holy Fathers . . . and, above all, from the Angelic Doctor St. Thomas Aquinas.

But let us examine the statements made in the little pamphlet before us. The Pope in his Encyclical on Liberty explains the natural law as follows: "*Lex naturalis scripta est et insculpta in hominum animis singulorum, quia ipsa est humana ratio recte facere iubens et peccare vetans. . . . Consequitur ut naturæ lex sit ipsa lex æterna insita in iis qui ratione utuntur, eosque inclinans ad debitum actum et finem, eaque est Ipsa Æterna Ratio Creatoris, universumque mundum Gubernantis Dei.*" [We italicise the words as they are in the pamphlet]. In these words, according to our author, we have either ontologism or pantheism, unless we understand them in his, Rosminian, sense (pp. 5, 11). Let us see.

What is law? The Signor Professore, as the author of the dialogue styles himself, answers: "Law is the rule of what we ought to do or omit doing." Hence, "a law is an idea; it exists only in the mind." . . . "Now if the law is an idea, or concept, or notion of the mind, then the *natural law*, if it be a true law, must be a notion or idea."

For this statement the author quotes St. Thomas (IV. Sent., Dist. 33, quæst. 1 art. 1): *Lex naturalis nihil aliud est quam conceptio homini naturaliter indita, qua dirigitur ad convenienter agendum in actionibus propriis*. Putting in italics the words *nihil aliud* and *conceptio*, he changes, and in no inconsiderable degree, the meaning of St. Thomas. In the article quoted St. Thomas proposes to himself the question: *Utrum habere plures uxores sit contra legem naturæ*, and, as usual, his first concern is to make each term of his question clear. What is "nature?" and what is "law of nature?" In men, he says, "*naturalis conceptio ei indita qua dirigitur ad operandum convenienter, lex naturæ vel jus naturale dicitur*." Therefore in the words quoted the emphasis is not exclusively, though chiefly, on *conceptio*, the whole phrase being *conceptio homini naturaliter indita* (how these words are to be understood will be explained later on); thus, the words *nihil aliud* do not refer to *conceptio* alone. Evidently two things are expressed in this compound phrase, which St. Thomas explains in other places thus: "*Ad legem naturæ pertinent ea ad quæ homo naturaliter inclinatur, inter quæ homini proprium est, ut inclinetur ad agendum secundum rationem. Ad rationem autem pertinet, ex communibus ad propria procedere*" (Sum. Theol. 1, 2, quæst. 97, art. 4). But we shall not insist too much on this point; the distinction of St. Thomas will be fully explained further on. To our surprise, however, the Signor Professore does not hesitate to take the word *conceptio* in precisely the same sense as *conceptus*, or *idea*. If he does not distinguish between these two terms, we assure him that St. Thomas does. The Angelic Doctor never uses the word *idea* (= *conceptus*) for law; and, according to the most elementary notions of logic, it is quite evident that a law cannot be an idea. In the question, "*Utrum lex sit aliquid rationis*" (Sum. Theol. 1, 2, quæst. 90, art. 1), and everywhere else, St. Thomas answers: Yes, it is a "*principium*," a "*regula et mensura actuum*"—in other words, it is a *judicium*, which consists "in compositione et divisione, in affirmatione et negatione," but not a "*simplex apprehensio mentis*," or an idea. Thus a law, as every other judgment, presupposes the ideas of the subject and the predicate, and consists in connecting both by affirmation, or dissociating them from each other by negation. If this nexus be clear as soon as we apprehend the terms, we call such a judgment a "*veritas per se nota*," or a principle. Thus *in speculativis*, the first and highest principle is the principle of contradiction; and *in practicis*—as we shall presently see—the maxim, that good is to be done and evil to be avoided.

Our "Thomist" continues:

It is evident, then, that the natural law is a concept or notion of the mind. Now the natural law is the most universal of all laws (therefore) it is plain that the natural or supreme law must be the most supreme notion—the most universal concept of all

The Signor Professore must pardon us if we call this argument a paralogism. First, is it true that the natural law is only *one* law, to which consequently *one* "idea" corresponds? St. Thomas speaks of a number of "*præcepta legis naturalis*," to which, of course, as many "ideas" necessarily correspond. The Angelic Doctor grants, it is true, that "*omnia ista præcepta legis naturæ, inquantum referuntur ad unum primum præceptum, habent rationem unius legis naturalis*" (Sum. Theol. 1, 2, quæst. 94, art 2, ad. 1). As we stated already, this "*primum præceptum legis*" is "*quod bonum est faciendum et prosequendum, et malum vitandum*." This, then, may be called, in the language of our author, *in morals* the most universal "idea." But from this most universal "idea," *in ordine morali*, the Signor Professore, by an incomprehensible *salto mortale*, makes "the most universal concept of all," and adds, "this is the concept of *being* or existence—the most universal possible thought." To make his mistake still worse, he explains why judging of the *goodness* is the same as judging of the *being* of things.* The reason he gives is that St. Thomas says: "*Bonum et ens sunt idem secundum rem*." Thus, the author overlooks the fact that this principle regards the *bonum ontologicum*, not the *bonum morale*. Ontologically it is true, that "*bonum et ens convertuntur*;" but this is not the case with moral goodness. No doubt St. Thomas says in the same place (quæst. 94, art. 2): "*Primum principium in ratione practica est, quod fundatur supra rationem boni, quæ est: bonum est quod omnia appetunt*." But, firstly, these words clearly indicate the distinction we made above between idea and principle (*or* judgment). St. Thomas says, not as the Signor Professore, the natural law *is* the "*ratio boni*," but the first principle of morality (in which the natural law may be considered as *one*) is *founded* on the *ratio boni*. Therefore the ratio, or idea boni, comes first, and then the mind forms the judgment (*or* principle), *bonum faciendum*. Secondly, it is clear that St. Thomas gives the most universal ratio boni, on which the idea

* Here the author simply substitutes *judging* for *idea*, as if idea and *judicium* were synonymous. In the opinion of Rosmini, it is true, every idea, *except that of being*, is a kind of judgment—namely, the composition of our sensations with that innate idea, or the application of that idea to our different sensations. But such is not the case, even in Rosmini's own views, with the first idea. This, the idea of Being, is, also in his system, nothing but a *simplex apprehensio*, or, as he believes it to be, an intuition.

of every particular bonum, consequently also that of the bonum morale, rests. Thirdly, even if here there were question of that *goodness*, which is identical with *being*, it would be unlawful to substitute the *idea* of the one for the *idea* of the other; because it is only "*secundum rem*," as St. Thomas says, that ontological goodness and being are the same, not *idealiter* or *formaliter*. The ideas of the two are quite different one from the other.

By this illogical process the author makes from the natural law "the *idea of being* considered as the rule of moral judgment." Now he has to explain the "idea of being." What is this term Being? The pamphlet thus proceeds: "The *natural law* written in our minds is the *Eternal law itself* or the *Eternal Reason*." The Eternal Reason is undoubtedly the same as God Himself. May we hold, then, that the natural object of our mind (the "idea of being") is God? This would "be downright ontologism." And Rosminians, of course, detest ontologism, as understood by them—for Rosmini wrote a special book against Gioberti's ontologism. But if the natural law is not God, then it must be a *created* thing. In this case, however, it is no longer *eternal law*. How are we to escape from this dilemma?

It is hardly necessary to say that the author thus puts himself into a fancied dilemma, which, in reality, does not exist. The natural law is not the Eternal law or the Eternal Reason *formaliter*, nor do St. Thomas and the Papal Encyclical really say so, as our "Thomist" believes. It is true that the Encyclical can be made to say so—*i.e.*, provided it is misunderstood. Nobody can, however, reasonably conceive that the Pope speaks in a pantheistic sense, as if natural law and eternal law, natural reason and Eternal Reason, were the same; that between them there is no difference. But St. Thomas does not even "seem" to identify natural and Eternal Reason. He says distinctly that "*in rationali creatura participatur ratio æterna*" (Sum. Theol. 1, 2, quæst. 91, art. 2). And he explains in what this participation consists: the rational creature has "*naturalem inclinationem ad debitum actum et finem; et talis participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura lex naturalis dicitur*." But why does God give to the rational creature a natural inclination towards the right action and the right aim? St. Thomas answers: Natural law is nothing else but the way in which God's Providence guides everything. Now, in rational creatures themselves there is a kind of Providence, because they have to provide for themselves and for others. Therefore God's Providence has to provide for these rational creatures in a more excellent way than for others, and He does so by giving them a natural inclination *ad debitum actum et finem*, and in this consists the participation of Eternal Reason. What in the Eternal Reason is *per se, ex toto, in*

universo, is in the created reason or in the rational creature, *per Deum, ex parte, in particulari*. Thus the following words of St. Thomas assume altogether a different appearance from that which they have in our author's eyes: "Unde Psalmista quæstioni: *Quis ostendit nobis bona*, respondens dicit: *Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine*; quasi lumen rationis naturalis, quo discernimus, quid sit bonum et quid malum (quod pertinet ad naturalem legem), nihil aliud sit quam impressio luminis divini in nobis." In other words: God gave us the light of natural reason, by which we are able to distinguish between good and evil, and thus we are a likeness of the eternal light or the Eternal Reason. As St. Thomas in another place explains the same expression "lumen vultus tui": "quod est lumen rationis naturalis, in qua est imago Dei" (In Ep. ad Rom. cap. 2, lect. 3. Cf. Quæst. Disput. "De spiritualit. animæ," art. 10). Therefore the natural light and the Divine light, the natural law and the Eternal law, are not the same *formaliter* but *exemplariter* (and in some way *virtualiter*), as a portrait may be called by the name of the person whom it represents, or as a printed page (*impressio*) is the same as the type.

But we have to see how our author escapes from his fancied dilemma:—

The natural law is either God (!), or it is a created thing: if we say it is God, we are ontologists; if we say it is created, it is no longer the eternal law.

The solution he gives is this: It is neither God nor a created thing. Proof: it is not God, for law is idea, *ideal being*, whereas God is "Subsistent Being itself." It is not a created thing—why? Because "all created things are mutable, contingent, temporal, not eternal," while "we conceive the natural law as having the character of immutability, necessity, eternity with which it exists in God, as all admit." St. Thomas, in his article "Utrum lex naturæ mutari possit," does not admit *simpliciter* the immutability of the natural law *as it exists in men*; for, as we showed above, natural law in the rational creature is only a participation, an impression, an image of the eternal law. According to the distinction already indicated, St. Thomas says also here: "Quantum ad prima principia legis naturæ, lex naturæ est omnino immutabilis" (because the rational nature of men cannot be changed); "quantum autem ad secunda præcepta quæ diximus esse quasi quasdam proprias conclusiones propinquas primis principiis, sic lex naturalis . . . potest mutari et in aliquo particulari, et in paucioribus" . . . (Quæst. 94, art. 5). But we do not insist on this point, the chief question being:

What is that ideal being which is neither God nor a creature? Here is the Professore's answer:

It is that "Divine light stamped upon us" which St. Thomas calls the "impression of the First Truth" (?), and the "illumination" or "participation" of the immutable truth. It is, in short, a *something Divine*, which as it appears to us, cannot be called God; but yet, because *Divine*, cannot be called a creature, but the *Divine in nature*, a something which exists between God and the creature (p. 10).

Here we venture to say that the Signor Professore transgresses against common sense. By talking of a thing which is neither God nor creature (*i.e.*, not God), he comes in collision with the principle of contradiction itself. Nor is this all. It was evidently in order to evade the condemnation of Rosmini's ideological doctrine, laid down in the first nine of the Forty Propositions, that our author expressed his master's doctrine of the *esse* as the object of our intuition in such a contradictory manner. But we dare not say that he has succeeded in this attempt; because one could hardly express more exactly our author's doctrine than by repeating the words of the fourth of those condemned propositions: "*Esse indeterminatum quod procul dubio notum est omnibus intelligentiis, est divinum illud, quod homini in natura manifestatur.*"* There is another decree of the Holy See, against which it would seem those offend who speak of "something divine" as the most universal idea. Among the propositions, namely, in regard to which the Holy Office on September 18, 1861, declared that they could not be taught safely, there is one, the second, which runs thus: "*Illud esse, quod in omnibus, et sine quo nihil intelligimus, est esse divinum.*" It is true that our author does not openly declare that his "most universal idea" is that "*quod in omnibus, et sine quo nihil intelligimus*"; but it is equally true that in his theory some such affirmation must be understood.

But, abstracting from that point, how is it possible to quote St. Thomas for such an inconsistent statement? Does, then, the Angelic Doctor call the illumination of the rational creature by the eternal light, and the participation of the Eternal Reason in the created reason, "something divine," something which is neither God nor created? The Signor Professore himself knows that St. Thomas calls the light of reason a *created* similitude of the divine light, but he tells us that, in saying so,

He (St. Thomas) means that the truth, as communicated to each

* *L'essere indeterminato (essere ideale), il quale è indubitatamente palese a tutte le intelligenze (è quel divino che) si manifesta all' uomo nella natura.*—Rosmini, "Teosofia," vol. iv. num. 5 and 6, p. 8.

intelligent being, begins for *such mind*, at that time, in that mode and measure in which it pleases God to communicate it. . . . (p. 12).

So, then, if it did not please God to communicate the similitude of the divine light to such mind, such mind would not see anything of truth! This doctrine altogether subverts the rational nature of man. Man is rational by his very essence, and he has always in himself a created similitude of the divine light (namely, his own human intellect), and not merely from *that time, in which it pleases God to communicate it*. Let us hear St. Thomas again. He says: "Impossibile est quod anima hominis privetur lumine intellectus agentis, per quod principia prima in speculativis et operativis nobis innotescunt; hoc enim lumen est *de natura ipsius animæ*, cum per hoc sit intellectualis, de quo lumine dicitur in Ps. 4: 'Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine'" (Quæst. Disput. *De veritate*, quæst. 16, art. 3). Now, we ask, is this illumination of the divine light, according to St. Thomas, *something divine* in us? No, it is *de natura ipsius animæ*, therefore created with the soul itself. St. Thomas again writes as follows: "Lumen naturalis rationis, cum *per-tineat ad speciem animæ rationalis*, nunquam privatur ab anima, impeditur tamen quandoque a proprio actu per impedimenta virium inferiorum" (Sum. Theol. 2. 2æ, quæst. 15, art. 1).

What, however, is that light in our mind which belongs to our nature as rational beings? It is that power or faculty of our mind which makes understanding possible to us (in actu primo proximo). The Peripatetic School calls it *intellectus agens*, and St. Thomas explains in the following way why it is styled a light: "Est etiam (præter intellectum possibilem, qui, quantum est de se, est in potentia ad omnia intelligibilia) in anima invenire quandam virtutem activam immaterialem, quæ ipsa phantasmata a materialibus conditionibus abstrahit; et hoc pertinet ad intellectum agentem, ut intellectus agens sit quasi quædam virtus participata ex substantia superiori, scilicet Deo. Unde Philosophus dicit, quod intellectus agens est ut habitus quidam et lumen; et in Ps. 4 dicitur: 'Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine'" (Quæst. Disp. *De Anima*, art. 5). Hence the illumination of the divine light, or the "virtus participata ex Deo," is a faculty or a power of our mind (*intellectus agens*), consequently something *created* together with and in our soul. Again, St. Thomas explains in another way the relation between the divine light and the intellectual light in man: "Sicut in rebus naturalibus sunt propria principia activa in unoquoque genere, licet Deus sit causa agens prima et communis: ita etiam requiritur *proprium lumen intellectuale in homine*, quamvis Deus sit *prima lux* omnes *communiter* illuminans (*Ibid.* art. 4

ad 7). In what, then, consists the illumination of God or the impression of the divine light in our mind? Chiefly in two things: "Actio intellectus dependet a Deo quantum ab duo: uno modo in quantum ab ipso habet perfectionem sive formam per quam agit (namely, the reason, or the intellectual light); alio modo in quantum ab ipso movetur ad agendum (for the 'causa secunda' can never act without the motion of the 'causa prima'") (Sum. Theol. 1, 2, quæst. 109, art. 1). With regard to the first of these two points he says: "Sic igitur intellectus humanus habet aliquam formam, scilicet ipsum intelligibile lumen, quod est de se sufficiens ad quædam intelligibilia cognoscenda." . . . And he adds that this very intellectual light, which is a "forma" of the intellect itself, consequently most natural and intrinsic to the intellect, is the illustration of God: "Ipsum lumen naturale, animæ inditum, est illustratio Dei, qua illustratur ab ipso ad cognoscendum ea quæ pertinent ad naturalem cognitionem" (*Ibid.* ad 2). We ask again: Does St. Thomas teach that the "impression of the First Truth" (?), the "illumination" or "participation of the immutable truth" is *something divine*? Emphatically, no. The participation of the divine light in us consists in this, that our souls, created by God, have in their "intellectus agens" the power of illuminating everything, that is to say, of making it, by means of abstraction, intelligible: "Cum istud lumen intellectuale ad naturam animæ pertineat, ab illo solo est, a quo animæ natura creatur" (Quæst. Disp. "De spiritualit. animæ," art. 10).

Our author has not yet done. Before concluding he makes another statement:—

If it is true, as the Encyclical conclusively teaches with all Catholic tradition, that there is a law which is implanted in every rational creature by nature. . . . and if this law is nothing else but an *idea*, or *notion* of the mind, then it is also true, according to the same teaching of Catholic tradition and the Encyclical, that there is *some idea*, which is *innate*, or born in the human mind; and, therefore, any system of ideology which makes man to be born without any cognition, and, in this sense, his mind a "tabula rasa," is opposed to the Papal Document and to Catholic tradition: it would make man to be born into this world without a law, and would reduce him to the state of the brute.

Here our "Thomist" puts off altogether his assumed character. For St. Thomas, who undoubtedly is not opposed to Catholic tradition, states in most distinct terms that the mind is a *tabula rasa* in this sense, that there is not a single idea, not even that of the natural law, innate: "Intellectus humanus. . . . est in potentia respectu intelligibilium; et in principio est sicut *tabula rasa*, in qua nihil est scriptum (ut Philosophus 3, De Anima

text. 14, dicit). Quod *manifeste* apparet ex hoc quod in principio sumus intelligentes solum in potentia, postmodum autem efficimur intelligentes in actu" (Sum. Theol. 1, quæst. 79, art. 2). And again he says with Aristotle: "Intellectus quo anima intelligit, non habet *aliquas* species naturaliter inditas, sed est in principio in *potentia* ad hujusmodi species *omnes*" (*Ibid.* quæst. 84, art. 3). Everywhere and always St. Thomas repeats this fundamental truth, his ideological principle being "nihil est in intellectu, nisi prius fuerit in sensu," or "omnis nostra cognitio incipit a sensibus." For the same reason he maintains the necessity of the intellectus agens, which has to illuminate, that is to say, to make intelligible to the mind the objects of our sensations, which, as such, on account of their singularity and particularity, are not capable of being apprehended by the mind. Even the "actualement cognitionem principiorum (both speculative and practical principles) habere non potest intellectus possibilis, nisi per intellectum agentem. Cognitio enim principiorum a sensibilibus accipitur, ut dicitur in fine, lib. 2, Poster." (Quæst. Disp. "De anima," art. 4 ad 6).

It is, indeed, true that St. Thomas often says that the "cognitio primorum principiorum est nobis innata" (Quæst. Disput. "de Veritate," quæst. 10, art. 6 ad 6); but he explains most clearly why and in what sense he uses these words. In the article just quoted, he says that our knowledge is partly from within and partly from without. From *without*, because the objects are outside the soul; from *within*, because the intellectus agens makes them actually intelligible. "Quod quidem lumen intellectus agentis in anima rationali procedit, sicut a prima origine, a substantiis separatis, præcipue a Deo.* Et secundum hoc verum est, quod scientiam a sensibus mens nostra accipit; nihilominus tamen ipsa anima in se similitudines rerum format, inquantum per lumen intellectus agentis efficiuntur formæ a sensibilibus abstractæ intelligibiles actu, ut in intellectu possibili recipi possint. Et sic etiam *in lumine intellectus agentis* nobis est *quodammodo* omnis scientia *originaliter* indita, mediantibus universalibus conceptionibus, quæ statim lumine intellectus agentis cognoscuntur, per quas, sicut per universalia principia judicamus de aliis, et ea præcognoscimus in ipsis." Consequently all our knowledge can be called in some way *originaliter indita*, because

* Surely our author must be puzzled at this expression. Thus the intellectual light is not only a similitude, a participation of God, but also of the Angels! That certainly does not agree with the author's interpretation of the intellectual light. In order, however, to prevent misconception of this passage, we quote here another, in which St. Thomas says: "Lumen intellectus agentis non *causatur* in anima ab aliqua alia substantia separata, sed immediate a Deo" (Quæst. Disput. "De spiritualit. animæ," art. 10).

the intellectus agens is a part of our nature, and by the action of this faculty we perceive, without difficulty or delay, some universal (first) principles, from which the reason draws other truths as conclusions. Innate, then, is nothing at all but our rational nature.*

Since the author in his pamphlet treats only of the *practical* principles, or the natural law, we have to add that St. Thomas in this respect makes no difference between speculative and practical principles. But he makes the application to the latter, and to the natural law, also, most explicitly. To show this, in conclusion, we ask leave to quote another passage of his immortal works—viz., the II. Sent. Dist. 24 quæst. 2, art. 3: "Sicut ratio in speculativis deducitur ab aliquibus principiis per se notis, quorum habitus *intellectus* dicitur; ita etiam oportet quod ratio practica ab aliquibus principiis per se notis deducatur, ut: 'quod est malum non esse faciendum'; 'præceptis Dei obediendum,' et sic de aliis: et horum quidem habitus est *synteresis*. Unde dico quod synteresis a ratione practica distinguitur—non quidem per substantiam potentiae, sed per habitum qui est *quodammodo* innatus menti nostræ *ex ipso lumine intellectus agentis*, sicut et habitus principiorum speculativorum." Therefore, as far as the "intellectus agens," which by its abstracting activity makes the notions of things visible to our mind (as the light makes material things visible to our eye)—as far as this is a natural power or an innate faculty of our intellectual soul, so also the first principles of natural law, gained by that means without any delay (statim), may be called innate. But they are not so in themselves, or as such, but only *ex lumine intellectus agentis*.

It was not an original idea of our "Thomist" to quote the words he adduces from the Papal Encyclical on Liberty in favour of the Rosminian system. Father Stephen Eyre Jarvis had already done it in his "Rosmini a Christian Philosopher as understood by his own School." Speaking about ideology, this author also thinks, that, "here again the doctrine of Rosmini is found perfectly to agree with that of St. Thomas" (p. 39). There seems to be, however, some contradiction as to this agreement in his own pamphlet; for we are told by him, that Rosmini was the

* In this sense, again, St. Thomas says: "Intellectus principiorum dicitur esse habitus naturalis: ex ipsa enim natura animæ intellectuali convenit homini, quod statim, cognito quid est totum, et quid est pars, cognoscat quod omne totum est majus sua parte; et simile est in cæteris. Sed quid sit totum, et quid sit pars, cognoscere non potest, nisi per species intelligibiles a phantasmatibus acceptas. Et propter hoc Philosophus . . . ostendit, quod cognitio principiorum provenit nobis ex sensu" (Sum. Theol. 1, 2, quæst. 51, art. 1).

first who succeeded in solving the ideological problem. Very generously the author grants that

It is a great merit in a philosopher to have grasped a real difficulty, even though he may have failed to discover its solution. Such was the undoubted merit of the greatest philosophers of ancient times in their treatment of the celebrated *ideological problem* of the nature and origin of ideas. The full difficulty of this arduous problem was, for instance, clearly seen by Socrates and by Plato, and later on by St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventure. To the last named holy doctors belongs the additional merit of having, implicitly at least, perceived its true solution (p. 5).

So St. Thomas has not solved that question, but only *implicitly perceived* its solution! Later on the author retracts even this statement.

Those [among whom is St. Thomas, as we showed before], who would explain the origin of ideas, by saying that our sensations on passing into the imagination there become spiritualized by the intellectual light which is thrown upon them by the mind, and thus transformed into ideas, do not realize the full force of the difficulty. . . . They [among them St. Thomas] do not perceive that, while confounding this intellectual light with the intellect itself, they really, though unconsciously, are admitting the very idea which they are so anxious to exclude (p. 8). It was reserved for Rosmini . . . to direct his attention to this light of the intelligence, and to show [in contradiction to St. Thomas's doctrine] that it is something absolutely *distinct* from the intellect, which it enlightens. . . . This reflection came upon Rosmini like a revelation (p. 9).

Here we have to pause. We understand perfectly well that a disciple may be enthusiastic about his master, even if he be wrong; but we cannot understand how *such* a term ("revelation") can be applied to *such* a doctrine. And we do not wonder that the very best friends must be struck by such a display of "non molta modestia," as Professor Sichirollo calls it, at page 32 of his book, "La mia Conversione dal Rosmini a S. Tommaso. Rimembranze di Studi filosofici" (Padova 1882).

We need not continue the examination of Father Jarvis's pamphlet,* but shall only call his attention to the dilemma in which he puts himself by an essay—even if it be a reprint—on Rosmini *as understood by his own School*. Either he gives the ideological principle of Rosmini in his own words: and then he has to repeat the first nine or ten of the condemned pro-

* Those who wish to see a fuller refutation of Rosmini's ideology can find it in one of the most recent books on the subject, Vespignani (now Bishop of Cesena), "Il Rosminianismo ed il lume dell' intelletto umano. Studio critico-filosofico." Bologna. 1888.

positions, taken from Rosmini's works ; or he gives Rosmini as understood by his own School, taking those propositions in another sense than they bore in the eyes of the authority condemning them : and then he would offend against the same decree, which reprobates, condemns, and proscribes those propositions *in proprio auctoris sensu*. Unnecessary to say why this clause is added. Every one who knows ecclesiastical history is aware of its origin.

We conclude with a remark worthy of being taken into consideration by the friends of Rosmini. That is, that in the decree, so often quoted, not only are so many propositions of his condemned, but also it is expressly stated that "it is not permissible to any person whomsoever to deduce thence that the other doctrines of the same author, not condemned in this decree, are in anywise approved."

Knowing how great a part personal feeling has often played in this controversy, we may be allowed, in conclusion, to add, that we have sufficiently shown, as far as truth permitted, our friendly feeling towards Rosmini in the *Wiener literarischer Handweiser* (Jahrgang 2, Wien 1885, N. 2 and 3).

F. THOMAS ESSER, O.P., D.D.

ART. III.—THE BUDDHISTIC SCHOOLS.

I.

THE greater number of authors who have written about Buddhism and its development, of its rapid propagation and of its really extraordinary extension, speak of it as of a religion quite unique, possessing uniform and concordant principles, which have taken possession of men's mind and extended their sway in an almost miraculous manner. Many specialists, even, present it under this aspect ; and any one reading the works of Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, Spencer Hardy, and many others, would find this asserted as if beyond doubt. The reason is, that these savants have occupied themselves with but one Buddhist school, the most important in their opinion, the one which seemed to be a continuation of the traditions of the founder.

The case is, in reality, quite different from what is ordinarily

thought; and Buddhism is, really, a collection of extremely varied and opposed doctrines, which range from true theism to the most marked atheism. All these doctrines have, it is true, a common basis; Buddhism is like a tree with a hundred branches all proceeding from one same source, having for its roots the ideas of Buddha, the founder, and for trunk the system of the miseries of the human race, its deliverance, and of the means of arriving at it. For the rest, Buddhism is a real chameleon, being liable to take all colours and also all shapes. We find in it naturalism, deism, monotheism, atheism, polytheism, pantheism, nihilism, &c. It is exactly to this essential suppleness, to this facility of adapting itself to all the various fancies of thinkers and of all religious chiefs in all countries, that the doctrine created by Çākṛyamuni owes its extension and its admission into so many different countries. In each country where it has been received, it has adapted itself to the exigencies of the place and of the times, it has undergone certain modifications necessary to allow it to become the national religion, in accordance with the diverse temperament of the people and with their former beliefs.

But, before it spread itself beyond the limits of India, properly so-called, Buddhism had already divided itself into a considerable number of schools. Two centuries before the birth of Christ, they were reckoned as eighteen, the names of which were borrowed either from their founders or from the nature of their doctrines. The "*Lotus of the Good Law*" speaks of sixty-two heretical sects. "*Ignorant beings,*" it says, "*confined in the narrow limits of heresy, saying: it is, it is not; it is, and is not thus, give their confidence to the opinions of the sixty-two false systems, and remain attached to an unreal existence.*"* Between these diverse branches of the great doctrine, there existed not merely accessory differences: not only were the principles different, but in many cases, as we said before, diametrically opposed. We could not possibly undertake to give the complete history of all these sects. To do so would take a large volume, besides which the elements would be wanting to us. The history of Buddhism is still enveloped in darkness; its development, its vicissitudes, its contradictions are too little known, for one to pretend to trace its complete history. Neither can we think of entering into all the details which bear upon the matter, or of analyzing, even very briefly, the sixty-two systems of which the "*Lotus of the Good Law*" speaks. It would take too long and would be of no great interest or utility. We must confine ourselves to a bird's-eye view of the whole, and to the most essential points and the principal schools.

* See chap. ii. 64.

Primitive Buddhism was very simple; this appears to be undoubted. The teaching of its founder did not exceed the limits of eschatology and of ethics—his immediate disciples, his hearers, were still mendicant ascetics, and great monasteries were unknown to them. There are many facts which give evidence to prove this. Thus it is that the "Vinaya," or collection of the ascetic laws, relates that a disciple devoted himself to visiting the heretical temples; his companions reproached him for so doing, but he silenced them by telling them that as the Buddhists explained nothing, therefore he was obliged to go elsewhere, that he might at least learn something. The same religious code also tells us that "in the beginning the Bhikshus, or Buddhist ascetics, were obliged to seek shelter with the country folk in times of rain." This order alone quite excludes the idea of any mode of life, or of any monastic institution. Besides the orders relating to the manner of living and of dwelling, which are still to be found exclusively in the "Pentaglot Buddhist Vocabulary" * speak only of dwelling in the desert, at the foot of a tree or in old ruined walls.

Çākṃamuni, the creator of Buddhism, was simply a prince, a student at one of the Brahmanic schools, formed to their ideas, believing as they did in the nothingness of the world, in metempsychosis, and endeavouring, like them, to find the means of escaping from a miserable re-birth and from the torrent of existences which carry away unhappy intelligent beings. The manner of deliverance imagined by the Brahmins, and the final state of beings according to their system, appeared to him contrary to reality, and he endeavoured to discover others. He did not pretend to define the nature of being, nor its origin, nor even the condition of a man who had been delivered—this *nirvāna* which was to be the goal of his aspirations and his last end. His attention was entirely devoted to the means of the final liberation, to a line of conduct the practice of which should deliver man from all the evils of successive existences. So it is that the theories of the initial and the final term, as also the moral precepts, are the only ones which remain common to all sects which can still be termed Buddhist, and the profession of which has perpetuated itself through all ages without any essential alteration.

But Buddhism did not long remain in this state of primitive simplicity and unity. After the crowd, the philosophers of India, the Brahmins themselves, had become disciples of the

* Part II., chap. xv. I am now giving a complete translation of this in the "Babylonian and Oriental Record."

new hierophants, they brought with them into the new Church, their speculative spirit and their different systems, even to their mythological conceptions and their love of legends. These divisions simply grew and multiplied themselves, and the Buddhist monasteries gave shelter to the most diversified and to the strangest of doctrines. It may be easily believed that during the half century following the death of the founder, his disciples remained true to the doctrine taught by their master, and did not extend it much beyond what they themselves had heard from his mouth. But a hundred years after he had passed into the *nirvāna*, "a great misfortune befell his doctrine;" so says the introduction of the *Samayabodhi-paracanacakra*; "the divisions of the schools took place, all following different opinions and acting with great hardness of heart."

A first meeting of the doctors of the new law, pompously decorated with the name of a council, vainly endeavoured to prevent this rending of the body of Buddha. A certain king, of the name of Aśoka, who had brought under his sway all the north of India, caused all propositions which were found to be at all reprehensible in the eyes of pure Buddhism, to be defined and condemned. This sentence was the cause of the birth of the two schools, called respectively *Mahāsanghīkas*, or of the Great Church, and *Sthavīras*, or of the ancients. In the second century the *Mahāsanghīkas* consisted of three schools, at first termed *Ēkavyaya Kariḱas*, or "mixers," *Lokottaravādinās*, "those who speak or occupy themselves with the other world," and *Kukuhkas* (from the name of their chief). Shortly after they were joined by two others, firstly by the *Bahuḱrutya* (from the name of their master), and by the *Prajñāptivādinās*, who treated of the acquirement of wisdom; these were again followed by three others, the *Chaitikas*, the *Aparaḱailas*, and *Uttaraḱailas*, the names of which all have reference to the residences of their various founders. The school of the *Sthavīras*, more fortunate than these others, kept united all during the second century, and in the thirteenth only split into two branches, the one being a continuation of the doctrines which had so far been accepted, the other taking or receiving the title of *Hetuvādinās*, which means to say those who recognize a cause of the real origin and of the existence of beings.

Side by side with this first division, which reached back to the first effort at reconciliation, a new one had formed itself, and this brought the number of mother-schools to four. Uniting themselves to the two first mentioned came those of the *Sarvāstivādinās*, who proclaimed the real existence of all beings, and the *Sammatujas* (or approved by all), which last divided themselves during the third and fourth centuries, the first into seven, the second into five different branches. Each school claimed one

of the disciples of Çākyaṃuni as founder. But it is quite evident that these claims were without the slightest serious foundation, and they only give cause to believe that the fundamental principles of these different sects were simply borrowed from some of the sentences specially attributed to one or other of these illustrious followers of Buddha. Even this is not necessary, for it is easily to be seen that some of these appellations are of much later date.*

All these eighteen sects of which we have spoken so far were designated by the general name of "Vāibhashikas," or following the Vibhashas, which means to say, the commentaries on the books of sentences or maxims which summed up the primitive doctrine. In opposition to this name was that of "Sāutrāntikas," which means those attached to the meaning of the Sūtras only, or to those precepts contained in sentences of the first simple and less developed teachings of Çākyaṃuni. According to Vaçumitra, the Sāutrāntikas come from the school of the Sarvāstivādinās, in the fourth century of Buddhism, some one hundred years before our era. So far these factions had done no more than to form sects; for although they had given rise to differences on some points, they had not yet touched the essence of the doctrine. But during the last century of the pagan era, a new doctor rose up, who created what may be called a new religion in the bosom of Buddhism. The idea of Buddha as to the struggle against existence and the final deliverance was retained, but a complete transformation of all the rest was effected in a very short time. The name of this reformer, or rather, if I may use the name deformer, was Nāgārjuna. His name has remained celebrated in the Buddhist annals; his disciples make of him a supernatural being, and attribute most marvellous things to him, a life of 400 or 500 years, &c. His life, judging from all that is told about him, is not entirely free from dark spots. He was born in the south of India, where Buddhism had, till then, penetrated but little; he came of a family of Brahmins, and taught the Vedas when still quite young. Having undertaken to travel, he learned all the profane and occult sciences. Having, with three accomplices, gained access to the royal palaces, he began to ravish the female inmates, and being therein discovered, he was condemned to death, from which he only saved himself by making a vow to adopt the profession of the Buddhist ascetics. In ninety days he learned all the religious books then in existence (!) Later on he set himself to discover other *Sūtras*, but he was not successful

* One of these schools pretended to owe its foundation to the disciple Katyaṃana. That certainly was the founder's name, but this namesake of the disciple lived in the second century A.D.

in so doing until an old Bhikshu communicated to him these which formed the base of his new doctrine, but of which he only understood the substance. Still endeavouring to discover new secrets, he was, says the legend, taken to the depths of the sea by the King of the Dragons, who showed to him the receptacle of Sûtras developed and otherwise. Burdened with this precious treasure, he returned to earth, and presenting himself before the king, begged of him to embrace his doctrine. After working for seven years in vain, he at last succeeded in convincing the king, and converted all at once ten thousand Brahmans. Encouraged by this great success, he set about traversing the south of India, spreading his Buddhism and composing numerous works. One fine day, however, he shut himself up alone in his room and disappeared.*

Such is the legend ; it is easy to separate from it the miraculous parts, and to rebuild from it the simple biography of this great man. From his adventures with the dragons, it has been concluded that he took his ideas from a foreign people. Most probably this fable has no other source than the name itself of the innovator, Nâga, which signifies "serpent or dragon."

Nâgârjuna pompously gives to his system the name of Mahâyâna "the great vehicle," while his followers qualify primitive Buddhism as Hinâyâna, "the vehicle of a bad or degraded quality." These expressions are taken from Buddhist ideas and terms, the practice of the law being compared by them to a road, to the royal way. From that time the two Buddhisms constituted themselves into separate doctrines, both pretending to be the true doctrine of the founder, and developing themselves parallel, like two religions, which possessed nothing really in common with each other but the name of Buddha and the laws of moral, or asceticism. But even while combating they did not anathematize one another, and the monasteries of the great vehicle and those of the degraded vehicle were stationed very close together, each receiving visits from the rival institution.

But even the Mahâyâna itself did not long remain intact. A hundred years after the death of its founder, one of his disciples, Aryasangha, desiring also to be the chief of a school, profoundly modified the master's system. Aryasangha, born in the north of India, had come and established himself in Magadha, the holy land of primitive Buddhism, and there he erected the temple of the "Germ of the Faith." Thence he directed his steps to the kingdom of Yavana, where the king of that place, Gambhirapaxa, had assembled a number of ascetics, endeavouring to repair the damage which had been done to the holy books by the rival

* Compare Wasilieff, "Le Bouddhisme," pp. 211-13.

Brahmans. Aryasangha there preached the Mahâyâna and succeeded in making it triumph. He laboured there with eight disciples whose names have become celebrated. But this was no longer the pure Mahâyâna; the new doctor had borrowed the mysticism of the Brahmans, the system of union with the primordial Being, or "Yoga," at the same time adapting it to the theories of Nâgârjuna, and gave birth to a new sect, which, from the name of its principal object, is called Yogocâryam, the practice of the yoga and of union.

The division did not end there; later on two Mahâyânist doctors, Bhavya and Buddhapâlita, developed theories which were supposed to hold the mean between the other schools, and on this account received the name of "Madhyamika," or intermediate. These theories had been already spread before this, but they received from these two illustrious masters a definite consecration and numerous commentaries. For the rest the Madhyamikas did not long remain united, and we see springing from them two new sects, who fought one against the other, and of which the Buddhistic books relate the disputes. The special system of Bhavya was called "svatantrika." The quarrels between these different preachers was no matter of jest. For example, we see Echandragomin fighting, during seven years, against Chandrakirti, and only succeeding in vanquishing him by the most unceasing efforts. They also called each other by the names of heretics, sons of the devil, &c. In this way divisions went on multiplying and increasing without end. But a greater division, more profound than all the others, took place between the two principal schools who followed the "Great" or the "Little Way," and to either of these all the others attached themselves according to their particular nature.

The two great Buddhistic schools are still known under the names of Buddhism of the North, and Buddhism of the South, from the countries where one or the other had implanted itself. The first prevails in Thibet, Nepal, Tartary and China; the second is followed exclusively in Ceylon and in the peninsula of the East Indies, Siam, &c. The Buddhism of the South has, in general, remained faithful to primitive teachings and simplicity. The Buddhism of the North, on the contrary, has estranged itself more and more in proportion as it withdrew itself from the common cradle. How strange it is that the Mahâyâna* which reigns in the North, after having commenced by nihilism and the most complete atheism, arrived at last beyond the Himalayas at monotheism, the worship of men more or less deified, and even

* But Mahâyâna and the Buddhism of the North are quite different things, as will be seen.

so far as the extravagances of polytheism and idolatry! In the regions of Tartary and China especially, Buddhism is quite unknown outside of the monasteries or bonzeries, except by its gods and its saints; its philosophical principles, and even its moral precepts, the first above all, are, we might say, forgotten. Buddhism displays there the outside appearance of a religion which its founder would certainly have reproved as fundamentally and totally erroneous, if not culpable; and of a nature that would entice those who practised it far away from deliverance and into new and miserable births.

II.

The above is a résumé of the history of the development and of the transformations of Buddhism. It remains for us to give a sketch of their particular doctrines, as much from the point of view of philosophical theories, as from that of moral precepts. We cannot naturally enter into the details of all these different systems; one alone would itself occupy an entire volume, and these particulars would neither be useful nor interesting. We must therefore remark upon the principal ones only, upon those whose peculiar ideas divide them notably from the common and original source, and of these again limit ourselves to expose the general principles.

In order that the special nature of these different sects and of their ramifications may be well understood, we must, first of all, remember the fundamental ideas of the new teaching of which Çâkyamuni made himself the apostle, and to do this we must go back still further and call to mind, in a few words, the ideas generally received by the Brahmans before the appearance of the innovator. The theories professed by the Brahmans, the rules of conduct traced by them for the people living in the world, as well as for the ascetics, then so numerous in ancient India, had, for their base, the belief in metempsychosis, in the various re-births that souls had to undergo according to their merits and demerits in the different existences. Man produced by the absolute and original Being and drawn from His substance, passes from existence to existence, all of which are mostly miserable ones. His preoccupation and one aim of all his efforts must be to escape from these existences at all costs, and to re-enter into the eternal repose of the producing principle. To explain what we call Creation, the Brahmans had found nothing better than to deny the separate existence and the reality even of contingent beings. In their eyes, they really were not separated from the Universal Being, except by the illusion which made them believe in their own individuality. This error

produced a species of vibration of the All-Being, an existence in which it made men believe, and so led them on to rebirths and to all miseries. To escape from this a very simple means was necessary—viz., to believe in the identity of the Ego and of the All-Being, and at that instant the deliverance took place; after death one was no more born again; but individuality, the personality, offspring of error, were lost in the Great All. However that was a mystery known much later and then revealed only to the initiated, the masses and the greater number of the Brahmins still believed and professed that to secure a happy state after death it was necessary to give themselves up to a number of religious practices, sacrifices, offerings, works of penance and mortification, of which a powerful school preached the inutility, the inefficiency and even the fatal results.

It was under these circumstances that Çākyaṃuni, struck also by the view of human misery and seeking the means of deliverance, like the Brahmins of his time, believed himself to be suddenly illuminated by the rays of truth, and imagined that he had found the royal road which conducted to eternal rest. The entire object of his preoccupation and of his meditations was this. For him the nature of being, its manner of production, were but secondary questions. Thus the problem of metempsychosis remained quiet indifferent to him. As a fundamental principle upon which all his doctrine rests and to which it attaches itself point by point, he placed the Four Truths—viz:

1. That all human existence is misery and suffering, birth, life and death being counted among other evil things, as also privation, separation from that which pleases, unsatisfied desires, &c.

2. That the origin of unhappy existence and of all its evils consists in the attachment, the relish,* produced by sensation or by desire, which created all the illusion of life, the wish for possession and for power, for the conservation of life, and for its renewal after death.

3. That to put an end to this appetite or attraction, and to all its fatal consequences, this thirst for good things and for life must be extinguished and cut off at its source.

4. The only means to accomplish this end is to enter courageously into the path traced by the laws of Buddha, and to scrupulously observe all its precepts.

The first of these principles needs no explanation. Every one recognizes this vale of tears through which we are all travelling, and which tends unceasingly to eternity. We need only remark that Buddhism exaggerates its evils in not recog-

* *Callo tsaṇā*, lit. thirst.

nizing the legitimacy of innocent pleasures and in endeavouring to choke them at their very roots. The second point relates to the theories of the nature of man, and to the cause of the existence of reasonable beings. For pure Buddhism, man possesses neither personality nor soul. He is purely an aggregate, without individuality, and which death dissolves. There is no *ego* nor *person* in man. This word is only an abstraction, like the term car. A car is but a composite, of which each one has its name and its nature; the car, as a whole, has none; once these parts are separated the car no longer exists. So it is with the human being; so even with the gods themselves. The intelligent being, in one word, is a composition of matter and of its attributes, of the senses and of their properties, of the qualities of living bodies and of their sexes, of sensations, tendencies, conceptions, abstracts, appetites, and reason. The aggregate of all these things, which form the living and thinking being, is made by the general causes of all existences.

Primitive Buddhism did not endeavour to penetrate the mystery of the origin of beings. When interrogated upon this subject, Buddha made no reply, because he regarded this as an idle and insoluble question. Contenting itself with denying creation and personal being, Buddhism takes beings such as they are seen, and only explains particular existences, in which it only perceives successive phenomena, which produce apparent beings by a series of combinations of elements without substance, which beget only the *form* and the *name*, and no real supposita. There is a force in the scattered elements which makes us notice phenomena, feel wants, desire to satisfy and to reunite them, to assimilate them to ourselves. This force is illusion, the error which leads us to believe in the reality, the permanence of phenomena; of the elements and of beings so formed. This illusion produces the intellectual actions of division and comprehension, both illusions, and which produce the name and form of particular beings. From this rise intellectual faculties, the mind, the senses, and, by contact, the sensations, which produce wants and the desire to satisfy them; the being in preparation arrives at this, endeavours to seize and to appropriate to itself the things perceived and desired; by this appropriation it realizes its nature, and this then comes into existence and goes through it, with all its evils, only to arrive at decrepitude and death. Death dissolves all the aggregate and destroys the particular being, but in its dissolved elements there remains a force of appetite which renews all the phenomena and reproduces a new being, the condition of which is determined by the actions done during the former existence, by the faults and the virtues.

For the pure, or "hînâyānist" Buddhism, the new being con-

tinues the preceding one, morally at least; there was in it a sort of persevering personality. Thus, man rolled on from existence to existence, more or less unhappy, not knowing by what means to escape from it, until Buddha had shown him the way of deliverance. This way, of which the third principle speaks, has four Degrees, which constitute the different states of intelligent beings, proceeding to the final deliverance. The first is the conversion and the adhesion of the mind and heart to the faith of Buddha, which destroys illusion, doubt, and belief in the efficacy of religious acts. Then come two other degrees, wherein the believer disengages himself more and more from all desire; and then, lastly, that of *arhat* (meriting degree), where one is delivered from all error, from all attachment, and even from the desire of existence. From this he is ready for deliverance, and at his death he enters into this definite state called *Nirvâna*, which is, according to some, annihilation, to others a state which can only be defined by the absence of desires and of pain, and which would be very difficult to explain, since it supposes the dissolution of the human aggregate. To this first Buddhism, continued by the *Hinâyâna*, Buddha was a man, extraordinary and illuminated, it is true, but not at all of any superhuman quality, and all the categories of the adepts of Buddhism reduce themselves to those which we have enumerated previously. We shall see later on how the Buddhist world came to people itself with superhuman beings, to the point of arriving at polytheism in one part and at monotheism in another.

Let us notice, however, that under the influence of mahâyânist doctrines, growing and developing little by little, the followers of pure Buddhism commenced the belief and the religion of the Bodhisattvas (substantial wisdom), or of arhats, who arrived by their holiness at a celestial condition, where they only waited for a re-birth or a coming into this world to attain supreme perfection. These Bodhisattvas are a kind of demi-gods, of beings endowed with a supernatural power, which enables them to work miracles, to transport themselves how and where they wish, to enlighten the intelligence, &c. We do not know at all what Buddha could have taught relating to the nature of the gods of Vedic and Brahmanic India, nor even if he spoke about them to his hearers. His disciples, who found themselves face to face with the Brahmins, were necessarily obliged to occupy themselves about them, and naturally were induced to raise Buddha above them. The Hindu devas became the ministers and the inferiors of the Great Reformer. The Buddhists of the South, remote from the Brahmins, occupied themselves little about these points; but in the North they formed one of the essential points of the doctrine, took their rank in the *cortège* of

Buddha, and constituted part of the supernatural world. It was they also who introduced Theism into Buddhism, which was originally atheistic.

Hīnāyānist, or primitive Buddhism, divides itself, as was said before, into eighteen schools. To enumerate the constitutive points of the doctrine of each sect would be to write a work as tedious as useless. The names of some among them indicate sufficiently the particular essence of their systems. Such are the Sarvāstivādinās, who affirm the real existence of all things; the Lokottaravādinās, who treat particularly of the extra-terrestrial world, &c.; but these are only a small number. The theories of the Sarvāstivādinās completely undermine the basis of Buddhism, which rests upon the non-existence of particular beings; they were also the cause of violent disputes; the other sects were, for the most part, treated as heretical, and condemned by those Buddhists who were faithful to the first traditions.

1. Sāutrāntikas.—The Sāutrāntikas take their name from the word *sāutranta*, sense, essence of the *sūtras*, because they profess to keep exclusively to the direct teaching of Ćākyamuni, without attaching themselves to any developments or commentaries. They follow these sentences or *sūtras* to the letter, without endeavouring to find the spirit of them; some of them, however, seek for this spirit, and try to make the rude texts agree with good sense. The essential point of their character is, that they push to the utmost subtlety the principal idea of the inseparable non-ego. There is no personality in anything; everything is one great indivisible whole, from which error, sensation, and desire detach themselves and coagulate to certain parts to make of them egos, or apparent supposita. They also discuss about the form and manner of knowledge, saying that the understood and the understanding are, in the intellectual act, in equal parts, like the two halves of an egg. To them each substance, each existence is an instantaneousness, and the prolongation of existence a series of instantaneousness; otherwise, according to their logic, everything would be indestructible. Existence therefore is a succession of births and of annihilations. They admit as the principle of being *monads* without parts, which do not attach themselves one to the other, but leave an interval between them. Others again say that there is neither contact nor interval, but contiguity. These monads which form the body are incorporeal. Each is the 2401th part of the point of a hair! Sense is not the measuring of its object, but the inherent knowledge of the senses. The only real things are sensation, representation, and thought. What we call bodies, beings, are not such—they are parts of the knowing subject, or rather of knowledge. Sensation takes a form, and the knowledge awakened by it becomes

form. They admit, however, in the monads a principle of illumination. They say further, that cause exists before effect—cause in that which is understood, effect in the understanding; that cause is the place and effect that which exists in the place, &c.

As to moral life, they hold that an arhat, having arrived at this point, can descend no more. They admit that one can be Buddha even on this earth, and that there is a number of Buddhas, all equal in dignity, though differing in bodily height, in longevity, in beauty, &c.

2. Naibhāshikas.—The Naibhāshikas admit the commentaries upon the primitive Sūtras and the different doctrines asserted therein, and look upon them as the words of Buddha himself.

Their theories possess this particular, that they suppose substance to be absolutely simple. For them, knowledge by means of the organs attains the subject, even in its entity, without enveloping it in illusions. Atoms in themselves are inaccessible to sensation and perception, but their aggregate is not so. The knowledge of forms takes place by that of atoms adhering among themselves and without envelopment. The Naibhāshikas place the earth upon water, water upon wind, wind upon ether, and ether, resting upon nothing sensible, supports the world. The real, the comprehensible contains: visibility, form, the soul and its modifications, actions, the simple and the substance. Besides the simple, there exist as real heaven and contemplation. Everything simple is eternal, everything composite is momentary. To them Buddha is a simple mortal, of whom the body, the substance, is dissolved into Nirvāna. The Arhats can fall back again into the rank of simple disciples, and they do not recognize many Buddhas.

3. Mahāyānist Schools.—(a.) *Mahāyāna* properly so-called. Hināyāna, or primitive Buddhism, was entirely a moral and practical doctrine, which only touched upon speculative theories in so far as they were necessary for the explanation of its precepts. The meditation that it prescribed to enable one to arrive at a view of the truth was, in the beginning, but attentive reflection. Mahāyānism throws itself into all the depths of metaphysical and abstract speculations and of doctrinal mysticism. It is for this reason that it gives itself the name of *great*, qualifying as base and inferior the system which remained on the earth and did not rise, with it, to those conceptions which it held as sublime.

Hināyānism did not seek the origin and the intrinsic nature of beings. Mahāyānism professed to solve the problem, and its principles served, at the same time, to replace that which Buddha had placed as the foundation of the four great initial truths. It was no longer pain and misery inseparable from existence

which made it necessary to desire and seek the end of these existences. For it, in the beginning, was Space, and Space is Universal Nature; everything must one day return to it. Space is everything and everywhere: such is the final term of the modern Buddhist; it is this Void which he must produce in himself to be able to arrive at deliverance. Space is the supreme principle (*paramârthas*); the supreme entity (*tattvam*), the only reality (*tathâtâ*), the true *nirvâna* or final term; to know it is supreme knowledge.* To attain it the believer must produce in himself the void of everything, of intellectual and physical actions, of all inaction, of inferior nature, of his own and of all foreign nature, of non-nature as well as of nature, of his own character, of all exterior or interior acquisition, and this void must be without limit, without term, without vacillation. The mind must be empty, like the heart. All distinct idea of the mind is an illusion, a blindness which forms an obstacle to his perfection and to the necessary purity.

The essential origin and nature of beings are those expressed by the single word "Void-space." The cause of existence is, in the false idea, distinct from void which leads to belief in the existence of beings. The way of deliverance is the uprooting of all ideas of the intelligence, until it is empty as nature. One is enabled to arrive at this state by contemplation, which leads to inert ecstasy or void of all action and of all conception. Not only must there be no more attachment to the world and its goods, but one must not permit one's thoughts to receive any idea; one must not think even "this is this, and that is that," or the contrary. The highest wisdom, perfect contemplation, consists in the renouncing of the intellect, in closing access to all thought.

It is thus that ignorance is dissipated, that the soul is made to return to its primitive purity, and that its real nature is restored to the world, for "all worlds are created by thought alone." The renunciation of the *Hinâyânist* limits itself to suppressing in himself the desire of all objects, as far as the simple disciple goes, or to close the doors against all notions or sensations, if it treats of the *Bodhisatva*. Here we see, born of contemplation, new capacities of the mind, new forces which give strength to enlarge nature and to raise it above itself, in concentrating it towards one only end and plunging itself into ecstasy. Thus one arrives at the extreme limit of expiation and of deliverance and makes oneself master of all. The ecstatic illuminates the world, calls to himself the Buddhas, makes all things reflected in himself. For the twelve causes of existence admitted by the *Hinâyânist*, and for his various means of perfection and of redemp-

* See "Buddhist Repertory," II. chap. vii.

tion, the Mahâyânist substitutes the six *paramitas*, or means for passing to the other life. Here, by a singular contradiction, we find the partisans of nothingness and of negation opposing to the negations or renunciations of the Hinâyânist the positive virtues of wisdom and of charity. To all intellectual perfections the Mahâyânist must add moral perfections. It is not sufficient for him to abstain from evil and wrong done to others, but he must devote himself, his goods, and his life, not only to his fellow-beings, but also to all living things. On the other hand Buddha is here but an abstraction, a personification of the law; his body is the law itself and his abstract body is in space. The *paramitas* are: morality, patience which bears all things in order to advance, the energy which retreats before no effort, the contemplation which places the contemplative spirit outside of itself, perfect knowledge which destroys all error and all illusion, and makes clearly known the emptiness of all things, and ecstasy which puts a stop to all intellectual acts and plunges into void, the only reality of being.

This theory of the immersion of the mind engendered the most frenzied mysticism, which attributed to ecstasy supernatural virtues by means of which the enlightened operated all kinds of prodigies as has already been noted. And not only are exterior means of action obtained in this way; nature raises itself above itself, enlarges its essence, and obtains such internal perfection as to be entirely transformed. This mysticism and these prodigies lead on to the employment of magic formulas destined to render them easy, and from these came the school of the dharanis and of tantras, which gives quite a new character to Buddhism, and contributes greatly to its propagation in the Tartar countries.

The absolute Nihilism which we have just exposed was not deduced with so much rigour everywhere. In the *Arya-Varachedaha-prajñāpara-mêta-mahâyāna-sûtra*, for example, the fundamental idea is that all that exists in nature, every particular being, all that has a form or a name, which presents the conception of the ego, is entirely false and non-existent; that there exists only an immense, absolute One, wherein all personality, every supposition is melted, that it alone is being, the true existence, the conception of which is exempt from error. No single living being, not even the Bodhisatvas or Buddha himself more than any other, constitutes a real entity, because they necessarily bear the name of their qualities and faculties, and that thus they have a form, and that form can only be an illusion and an error. Buddha taught, it is said, that all the regions of the world and of all the worlds are a pure nothing, that all truly pure conception is no conception, that the blest are

entire strangers to all conception of personality, of egoism, of life, of living being, to all conception in general.

Some Mahâyânists had created still another system: it was that of the *âlaya*, or Universal Soul. This was the personification of nothingness. The *âlaya* exists from all eternity, but, having become obscured by ignorance, it revolves with all apparent beings, which it supports in the torrent of existences and of successive re-births. It is this *âlaya* which is illusion in every being, and which must be made to return to its primitive purity by disengaging it from parasitical appearances, which have come to soil it and blind it by ignorance. The illusionary being which we call man must dissolve all that which constitutes in him the appearance of personality and of individuality, thus delivering the portion of *âlaya* which he holds captive. This is done by the means already indicated, by the entire void made in that which one calls "self."

The theory of nothingness varies again in different ways. The *Vimala Kṛti** represents all animated creatures as visions, as the reflection of the moon in the water or of an object in a glass, consequently as nothing. The *Ganavyûha*, on the contrary, attribute to beings an existence and their creation to the universal *âlaya*, but this latter neither has nor confers any personality.

(b.) *Yogacârya*.—The name of this school is taken from one of the Brahman sects, and signifies the practice of the "Yoga" or union. The doctrine of Yoga is especially developed in the celebrated philosophical Sanscrit poem, the *Bhāgavadgītā*, or "the song of the Blessed One," as also in the sūtras or sentences, an educational work of Patānjali. This Yoga was for the Brahmans the union with the Universal Being, the return of the human being, passing and illusory, into the Universal Being, by means of the abandonment of actions, of contemplation, and of the conviction of the absolute identity of all that exists or seems to exist. The Buddhist *Yogacârya* had borrowed their principles, applying them at the same time to their own theories; they also plunged themselves into contemplation, the inert ecstasy, to deliver and purify the *âlaya* or the universal and primitive soul, bound fast in the bonds of impurity and of error; this *âlaya* was the foundation of the whole system, its state of impurity and of illusion constitutes the starting point of their ethics. To deliver it, it was necessary to lead it to the true view of the recognizable and of knowledge. They distinguished three points of knowledge: the mirage which makes one believe in real existence (*param-tantra*), the false conception of the reality and the illusion of the intelligence which represents to itself things that are not (*pari-*

* Mahâyânist Sūtra bearing the name of a disciple of Buddha.

kolpita), and does not understand that all is emptiness according to the true nature of that which does not exist; lastly, the reality which is common to all, the immutable being, the Supreme Being, the Absolute or Space considered under all its aspects (parinishpanna). In addition to these just distinctions, the yogacārya has another no less fundamental one between the truth which is paramārtha, and that which is samārth. The second is defined as the general conception, that which is only a name, that which has the apparent character called matter and has not the generating virtue; the paramārtha is the contrary. That which distinguishes it is the appearance and the substance; at the same time they are neither alike nor different. For the Yogacāryas everything is in the idea and the idea is everything; they deny the existence of exterior notions; neither matter nor its atoms, nor the mind nor the ray of the ego, its representative is separated from the idea. In contemplation the saint sees and possesses whatever he wishes because he has a conception of its productive or apparent existence.

The Yogacāryas are sub-divided into various schools, which are distinguished by their own special theories of knowledge, the manner of illusory existences, the operations of the soul; but these dissensions between the different schools are very subtle, very long to explain, and almost entirely without interest to those who do not specially devote themselves to the study of these questions, therefore we will not dwell upon them.

(c.) *Madhyānikas*.—The Mahhyānikas, or those who keep to the golden mean, took this name because they professed to avoid the opposite extremes of the other schools either with regard to the idea of being, or to the practice of contemplation. As for the second point, which was simply an accessory, they condemned the system of inert ecstasy, and admitted some subjective representation in the mind of the contemplator. Concerning the first point, they rejected the two extremes—viz., eternity, existence in the absolute, and the non-existence of the subjective idea; they denied being, while at the same time admitting an illusory existence; they rejected being and substance, and recognized the reality of non-existence. Divided among themselves like all the other groups, they recognized the existence of beings outside of their radical substance, besides which they admitted the materialism of objects. In general they pretended that that which we grasp of objects and of their inapprehensible nature was nothing but their idea and their name. It would be quite superfluous to enter into all the details of these distinctions and of these subtle differences, which, for the most part, are but disputes upon meaningless words, and of which India alone has possessed the secret. The Thibetan Buddhists form one class of

Madhyanikas, whose doctrine distinguishes them by many principles, the chief of which are:—

1. The conditional, but not absolute existence of exterior ideas.

2. The conception of the *ego* which engenders the poison of the passions, or at least gives force to it.

3. The faculty of seizing the different aspects of truths, which does not belong only to the saints, but also to the simple faithful who are already advanced on the way.

4. The preconception of nothingness as the first step on the road to salvation.

5. The two *Nirvânas*, one which consists in the renunciation of variety and of error: the other in the dissolution of the elements of the human being.

The first is neither complete nor definite.

6. All is without any real egoism; nothing is formed by an individuality; in denying the end of the accidental apparitions of beings one denies also the end of non-existence.

7. There are two roads, one leading to the highest powers of heaven where one enjoys the beatitude of individuality, the other which leads outside the world into the *Nirvâna*. The first is attained by virtue, the second by the perfecting of the intelligent, &c. Let us notice the importance of this last point, which contradicts the very essence of Buddha's doctrine, for this does not see any deliverance except in *nirvâna*. It is from this that the two following schools have their birth.

(d.) *Yâtnikas* and *Kârmikas*.—These two schools admit of one supreme principle, of which, however, they take very little account. The chief question with which they do occupy themselves, and which divides them, is an entirely moral one: it is that of the means by which to arrive at the final deliverance. They arose from the need of reaction against a licentious quietism, which placed all practical morality in a sanctimonious ecstacy, indifferent to either good or evil, as will be seen farther on, and taught indifference to good or bad actions. They both acknowledge the necessity of acts of mortification and of virtue, while, at the same time, misunderstanding the essential virtue of free will. To their followers, the means of arriving at perfection lay in the human act, in the energetic effort to conquer oneself according to the "*Yâtnikas*" (from *yatna*, effort); in the moral act accompanied by conscience (*Karma*, act) for the *Kârmikas*. They both, for the rest, entirely misunderstood providence, the action of the first cause, and left man abandoned to himself during his different existences.

* The *Kârmika* system lays down as the principle of everything the *prajñā* (knowledge), or the entire intelligent force of nature.

There is a principle of activity in it which produces all its actions, which is called *upaya*. From this union is born the *manas* (intelligence), or principle of knowledge, the energy common to the senses; from the *manas* are born virtues and vices. All the existence of the changeable and transient world is derived from the false belief in this existence, from the false knowledge (*avidya*) which engenders this opinion. This false opinion and knowledge already exists in the *manas*, or universal intelligence, before it becomes individualized and incorporated in man and in the other intelligent beings. This conviction gives rise to the desire for the reality of this false existence. This desire existing, there is born the conscience of the individual and illusory existence, and from this again the knowledge of the form and the names of particular beings which produces the imaginary existence of these physical and intellectual beings, objects of the perception of the senses, and then the senses themselves, which in turn distinguish the properties of beings, &c. From thence come attachment to these objects, the desire for their reality and for their enjoyment, and this desire is the cause of the existence of these beings, of their life which terminates in old age and death. This production goes on renewing itself until the individual being shakes off his illusion, when everything disappears, and the being enters into the great void.

(e.) The *Aiçvârikas*.—These recognize a supreme being ("Içvara," sovereign master), but who holds no empire over the world, and is without providence; a god occupying the *Nirvritti* that is to say the state where everything has returned into immensity and reposes without distinction or action. It is here that man must find his final happiness, but by his human action alone and without the co-operation of the *Içvara*. This then is the *Adibuddha*, or the supreme and original *Buddha*. He possesses a plentitude of perfections, he is infinite, without distinct members, separated from all things and united to all things, infinite by the forms which he produces, but himself without form. The first essential and intellectual cause, revealed by his will, the only real being, his nature is the *nirvritti* (see above); but to enable himself to produce beings he has given to himself all the means of knowledge, and by them he created five contemplative *Buddhas*, who in their turn produced five *Bodhisatvas* of the same species, and they created all beings and all the elements of active and of illusionary nature.

In the beginning there existed nothing individual or of transient nature. All was the Great Void. *Adibuddha* alone existed, without form or movement, and revealed himself by fire. The greater number of the *Aiçvarikas* ended by adopting the Brah-

man mythology to a pretty great extent. They created heavens, the greatest of which is occupied by Içvara-Adibuddha; the others are ranged successively the one below the other, the whole according to the Brahman Trinity. First, Brahma, Çiva, and Vishnu, then the inferior gods, fire, wind, &c., until we come to the earth, beneath which are placed, one upon the other, the different degrees of hell.

(f.) The Tāntrikas.—The Tāntrikas form the school the farthest removed from the centre of Buddhism. If it was not that they recognize Buddha as their religious founder, and that his name frequently occurs in their books, it might be said that they have nothing Buddhist about them. This sect derives its name from *tantra*, or magic formulas, enabling men to work wonders and so obtain the object of their desires. All religious systems are to be found mixed up in it. Theoretically the Tāntrikas recognize a unique and supreme God in their Adibuddha and a multitude of superhuman Buddhas and Boddhisatvas; moreover, quite an Olympus of gods and goddesses, mostly outlandish and terrible. The goddesses for the most part have been borrowed from the impure worship of the Çivites, and these coarse personifications of the female principle are the objects, as in Çivism, of indecent practices and prayers. These are the female energies of the Buddhas and Boddhisatvas, as also of the Hindu dêvas. With them the religion and the practices of asceticism, destined to suffocate desire and to purify the heart and mind so as to lead to deliverance, are replaced by magic rules, and precepts relating to the employment of them. All consists in tracing circles, in cutting them into many parts, in placing in them the magic of the divinity or of the superhuman being from whom one would obtain a favour, and in reciting the all-powerful formulas or prayers which oblige them to accede to the wishes of their devotees. To them, as to the Mahâyânists, Buddha is only an abstract being, whose body is the law.

The Tāntrikas books contain the most contradictory elements. The Suvârna-Prabhâsa appears to affirm belief in the reality of beings and speaks a little of the moral virtues, with which the other books scarcely occupy themselves at all. The Vajramandâ dhârânî teaches us that all is illusion, that the creature called woman, near to whom man is pleased to find himself, is nothing but the fruit of imagination of the latter, a real production of a dream; the same also applies to hell and its torments. The man who endures them is a visionary who believes he suffers what in reality he does not suffer at all. Let us quote some lines, to be able better to convince our readers:

It is O Bhagavat, as if a sleeping man come in the middle of his dream to believe himself fallen into hell, that he believed him-

self thrown into this boiling cauldron, filled with men, of which so much is spoken, and that he experienced a sensation of violent, acute pain. . . . That then his friends and relations say to him: Fear not, thou sleepest, thou hast not gone from the house. And his reason returning to him, he says to himself: Yes, I was asleep, that which I imagined that I felt was no reality: and thus he again finds repose. In the same manner all ignorant men, enchained in the conviction of what does not really exist, represent to themselves, as existing, the person that is called woman. The vulgar man reflects thus: I am a man and here is a woman: this woman is mine. A man's mind being thus enchained by false imaginations, his thoughts roll on in illusions of enjoyment. If his friends and relations say to him. "These are neither men nor women, nor creatures, nor life, nor mind, nor any one. All these conditions have no reality, all these conditions are non-existing, all are the fruits of the imagination. All is like an illusion, a dream, something fictitious, like to the moon reflected in the water": the creature after hearing this teaching of the law sees all conditions freed from passion, he sees them free from error, having no nature in themselves, nothing which envelopes them. With their thoughts reposing upon space, these creatures, as if they had finished their time, enter in a complete manner into the Nirvana, where not one single trace remains of the coherence of the constitutive elements of existence.*

It would be impossible to teach more complete Nihilism; there is nothing in beings but a mirage, and their end the dissolution, the destruction of this mirage—nothing in the origin, nothing in the end.

(g.) Theological and Mythological Schools.—These schools belong, more particularly, to what is called the Buddhism of the North—that is to say, that which was formed, developed, and propagated in the countries of the North of India—Nepaul, Thibet, Tartary, China, and Japan. This Buddhism is distinguished from the others chiefly by its worship. The doctrine taught by Çâkyamuni gave no place to worship; in it there was no being superior to man, and its highest expression of humanity was Buddha. Consequently there was no honour to render to any celestial being whatever: no heaven, no connection with a world superior to the earth. This complete void could not suit the people who were accustomed to recognize superior beings and to have recourse to them in their wants. Therefore, the peoples of Northern India and of Central Asia created for themselves a celestial hierarchy, and even a real God, which certainly constituted the absolute reverse of Buddhism.

In the first instance there were the Boddhisatvas, which

* Extract from "Vinâya-Sûtra," p. 13. See Burnouf, "Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme indien," 2nd ed., pp. 485-486.

answered this purpose. These were simply, in the beginning, holy persons, who had almost arrived at the state of Buddha, or were ready to enter the Nirvâna. In the North they have become real genii, who are invoked like the ancient gods of India. Their number, their names, and their marvellous actions vary indefinitely; it appears a matter of fancy. There are among them, however, four who occupy a supreme place quite apart, and who principally form the Olympus of these countries. These are Avalokiteçvara, Manjaçri, Vajrapâni, and Maitreya.

Avalokiteçvara (the sovereign who looks down) is the personification of a watchful providence; he is the protecting genius of Thibet especially, and seems to have been confounded with one who was previously honoured in the high mountain regions. Manjaçri* is the personification of wisdom, of the intelligence which penetrates into the mysteries of high philosophy. He appears to have been nothing but an ancient Buddhist doctor, who laid the first foundation of the Mahâyâna and worked energetically at the propagation of the doctrine towards the second century B.C. Vajrapâni (who holds in his hand the thunder) represents the protecting power who strongly influences nature. He forms the head of a Trinity, which Avalokiteçvara and Manjaçri complete, and which is for the Northern Buddhism what the Brahmanic Trinity is to the Hindus, or the abstract Trinity to the South, the highest object of worship. Vajrapâni is like Indra or Jupiter, Avalokiteçvara the inspiring spirit—the Apollo, and Manjaçri, the benevolent doctor whose teaching gives happiness. Mâitreya is the future Buddha, the one who has to come to call the world to the true faith when it shall again have almost entirely lost itself. As such, he is endowed with the greatest power and benevolence to succour mankind. The Northern Buddhists have again imagined what they call contemplative Buddhas (Dhyâni buddha) with their own Boddhisatvas and a human Buddha, who is as it were the double of each one. They number five or six according to the different schools, and preside over the superior worlds. Only one of them merits any special mention, and that is the fourth, Amitabhâ (of infinite glory), of whom Avalokiteçvara is the Boddhisatva. This marvellous Buddha possesses this peculiarity, that he presides over a paradise of celestial delights called Sukhavati (the happy), situated in the west, where the inhabitants enjoy a happiness without alloy, and which is open to the Boddhisatvas who render themselves perfect. Even Buddha himself cannot tell all the perfections of this Boddhisatva. In fine, the natural sentiment which prompts man to seek an only and creative

* Charming, benevolent prosperity.

master for the universe, makes them imagine as such a Buddha anterior to all the others, and in whom all the others have equally their source. He was called Adibuddha, or the principal Buddha. Adibuddha causes to emanate from himself, by virtue of his contemplations, five contemplative Buddhas, and these by the same means produced five Bodhisattvas, who in their turn caused by emanation each a world. Ours is the work of Avalokiteçvara.

Here, at last, we have arrived at the most pronounced monotheism, and a monotheism which gives great place to supernatural beings of the second order. It is unnecessary to remark how contrary all these conceptions are to the principles of Buddhism, and how they constitute sects who have nothing Buddhistic about them except the name. More than this, the Northern Buddhists, imitated partly in this respect by the ancient Buddhists of Central India, multiplied the worlds, their wonderful qualities, and their supernatural overseers in such a manner that the imagination borders upon unreasonableness. These worlds raise themselves by stages, superposed one above the other, to immense heights, the first of which rests upon the fabulous mount Meru, the last lose themselves in infinity. The whole is divided into three special strata, forming so many worlds apart, and bearing the names of the world of desire, the world of form, and the world without form. The first, the most imperfect, is still subject to the passions; the second is exempt from them, but it still undergoes their consequences, inasmuch as the forms, produced by the passions, still subsist in it. The third is entirely free from them. In it reigns unconsciousness, and there no merits are possible.

The world of desire has six degrees : 1. That of the four great kings, who reign upon its slopes, over four regions, who command a multitude of special genii, good and bad, and possess a magnificent capital. The ground of their regions is respectively of silver, of precious stones, of gold, and of crystal. Each one of them exists 40,000,000 human years. Their region is 42,000 yojanas in height. 2. Upon the summit of Meru is the region of the thirty-three gods, having Indra at their head. He has a spouse, Çakti, and 110,000 concubines; nevertheless he is the guardian of the progress and the holiness of the earth. These gods live 36,000,000 years; their region is 160,000 yojanas high. 3. Above the preceding one is the heaven of Yama, or of the Yamas, which conceals great treasures, and where life lasts for 146 millions of years.

Then, at ever increasing heights, are found the "Tushitas" (gods full of joy); the "Nirmānaratayas," who, at their own desire, can take all kinds of shapes and inebriate themselves with

pleasure; and the "Paranirmanavâçinas," who create palaces, castles, gardens, &c., for themselves at their fancy. In this last named place life is 9,216,000,000 years long.

The world of form commences at a height of 2,560,000 "yojanas." It is divided into eighteen heavens, forming four different worlds, all called "Brahma's" worlds. Here there is no difference of sex, no clothing. Life there always continues lengthening itself, and measuring itself by Kalpas in the following progression:— $\frac{1}{2}$ —1— $1\frac{1}{2}$ —2—4—8—16—32—64—125—250—500—1000—4000—8000—16,000.

The world without form has four heavens, but those who arrive there perish, and there remains but four abstract elements: "passiveness, meditation, activity, and intelligence." These heavens form a series of abodes, of places of reward for the merits acquired during anterior existences. One goes to one or the other according as one has more or less observed the different moral precepts. But these paradises, the character of which was still too Buddhistic, were not pleasing to the inhabitants of the North. There, the heaven of Amitabha was much preferred, because of its delights being greater and because its duration was indefinite; also because the means of arriving there were much easier. To get directly there, as a matter of fact, it was not at all necessary to give oneself up to acts of mortification and of meditation; it sufficed to repeat to satiety the name of the Boddhisatva who was master of these beautiful regions: Amitabha. Happy he who died pronouncing this name! He went directly to the Sukhavatî, to enjoy the purest delights!

Thus it is Amitabha, with Kwan-yin, the goddess of mercy, who are the principal objects of the devotion of the Chinese. Kwan-yin, the genius with a hundred arms, gives help to all miseries and all wants. It is from her that one asks for the happiness of this earth; from Amitabha the happiness of the other life. Kwan-yin has particular feasts, upon which processions are made, long prayers are offered, as also perfumes and other pious tributes. For the rest, the Chinese have peopled their temples with protective genii, deified men, or others, in the midst of which Buddha takes his place to receive homage in his turn, when they are in want of him. Religion consists above everything in giving alms to the bonzes, so as to escape hell and to preserve their deceased parents from it. The reality of Chinese Buddhism is a veritable polytheism, more or less idolatrous. It is equally by its idols that it has insinuated itself among the people of Mongolia. Travellers and contemporary writers assure us with one accord that the Buddhist preachers distributed in the Mongolian tents little idols of felt, which each one placed in his hut, and to which the father of the family offered eatables

before the meal, and made libations, with repeated ablutions. Such was all the religion of these new converts.*

We will not detain the reader with the state of Thibetan Buddhism; we should find in it important doctrinal divergences, even opposition to the essential beliefs of this religion. But that would carry us too far. Let us only remember that the hierarchy of the Lamas, so mightily organized, which placed all temporal power in the hands of the so-called Buddhist priests, constitutes a state of things absolutely opposed to the doctrines of Çâkyamuni.

However long this essay may appear, we have not by any means exhausted the subject of the variations of Buddhism. We believe, nevertheless, to have said enough to give the reader to understand that the word "Buddhism" is a common term, which embraces the most different meanings; that Buddhism is like a temple open to all religions, on condition that each one accords a place, more or less great, to a common idea—nay, even the simple mention of its name. It is in these conditions that it has spread itself in several countries. Buddha excluding no single religion could himself be received into all temples.

C. DE HARLEZ.

* See C. de Harlez, "*La religion nationale des Tartares d'après les textes indigènes*," &c., pp. 173, ss.

ART IV.—FAITH AND REASON.

1. *Der christlich-katholische Glaube.* Von Dr. M. Jos. SCHEEBEN.
(Vide Theol. Dogm.)
2. *Essai sur L'indifférence.* Par F. DE LA MENNAIS.
3. *Il Problema dell' umano destino.* Per EUGENIO ALBERI.
(Libro Terzo.)
4. *La Ciencia y la Fe.* Por EL P. MIGUEL MIR.
5. *Apologie des Christenthums.* Von FRANZ HETTINGER.

"Nonne cum omni confidentia Deo dicere poterimus:—Domine, si error est, teipso decepti sumus; nam ista in nobis tantis signis et prodigiis confirmata sunt, et talibus, quæ nonnisi per te fieri possunt."—RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR (De Trin. l. i. c. ii.).

IF we cross-question the typical nineteenth century agnostic as to the cause of his rejection of Christianity, we shall generally find that he seeks to justify his position on one of the following grounds. Either he will say—(1) I cannot accept Christianity because I will never accept what is unintelligible and incomprehensible, and Christianity is a veritable tissue of incomprehensible dogmas and unfathomable mysteries, &c.; or else he will say—(2) I refuse to acknowledge the Christian Faith, because the evidence in support of it is insufficient, and incapable of bringing conviction to any prudent and practical man.

The absurdity of the first plea has already been shown. We pointed out in our last article, that to reject all mystery is really to reject all knowledge, and that to deny the incomprehensible because incomprehensible is to deny all the most necessary and self-evident truths in nature, beginning with our own existence, birth, growth, and faculties (whether of body or of soul), all of which involve mysteries which no man living is competent to solve; and so forth.

Having disposed of the first plea, it now remains for us to say something about the second—viz., the alleged insufficiency of the evidence, which is the favourite justification of most unbelievers.

It is hard to answer triflers such as these. They seem to live in an atmosphere of such humility and self-righteousness. Their modesty and condescension are almost embarrassing. They will not censure *us* for believing. Oh, dear no! They feign rather to envy our happiness. They only wish that they could believe too. It would be such a luxury, such a consolation. They are

not only ready, they are positively anxious to be persuaded, "if it were only possible, don't you know." But they can't. The fact is they are "too wide awake," and have none of the requisite simplicity. In fact, they really cannot bring themselves to "renounce reason," and at their age to begin again to walk in "leading strings," as they put it. Indeed, they must reluctantly decline to substitute phantoms for facts, however delightful it would be, and so forth. Yet they will trust science; true. But then that is quite another thing. Science offers a clear and convincing demonstration, but no such demonstration is forthcoming in the case of the supernatural dogmas, and they are not going to trust the *ipse dixit* of any man—not even a man with a white choker and a shovel hat.

Concerning such as these we will content ourselves with the following observations:—

When a man objects to a truth because it has no scientific proof to support it, he tacitly assumes that no evidence of any value exists which is not scientific. He seems wholly to ignore the fact that truth may be arrived at by two perfectly distinct routes. We may certainly ascertain truth by actual experiment and personal investigation, but we may also ascertain it on authority.* Although the second method is essentially different from the first, it is not on that account any the less reliable—indeed, there are cases in which it is far more so. Although, in this or that particular instance, authority may be untrustworthy, still THE PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY AS A CRITERION OF TRUTH cannot be objected to in itself. It is a principle which, whether consciously or unconsciously, is accepted and acted on by the whole human race. So essential and unavoidable, indeed, is this principle, that to rigidly eliminate it from this work-a-day world would be not merely to arrest all advance, but to make even existence impossible. The first act of reason is an act of faith. Destroy faith, and all activity and all progress becomes atrophied. We tell the child to eat and it eats, to drink and it drinks. Were it necessary first of all to prove the nutritious qualities of the food, its freedom from poisonous elements, and the death resulting from refusal, what would become of the child? So, again, if you tell a traveller that by following a certain specified route he will reach the town to which he is bound, he believes you. But were it necessary first to demonstrate your assertion, an eternity might elapse before he would be satisfied of so much as the very existence of the place. Even in science and art, who is there that does not place faith in the declarations of specialists?

* "Certitudo potest considerari dupliciter, uno modo ex causa certitudinis, alio modo ex parte subjecti."—Vide St. Th. ii. ii. 4-8c.

The assurances of a physician are sufficient grounds for my putting his advice in practice, and I follow his prescriptions without first demanding a rigorous demonstration of their suitability to my complaint; just as I swallow the medicines, when made up by the chemist, without submitting them to an analysis or to any other test. When a fisherman puts me up to some special trick to catch the wary trout, or a keeper describes the favourite haunts of teal or curlew, his word is my only guarantee. So again, we accept what Buffon says of the habits of animals, without thinking it necessary to watch and study each creature for ourselves, and when Lubbock discourses in his charming manner on the instincts and peculiarities of wasps, bees, and ants, we feel in no way constrained to suspend our belief in the accuracy of his general facts, till we have thoroughly sifted each statement for ourselves.

A young man at the end of his university course possesses the knowledge of a very wide and varied range of truths. Yet in the case of most of them—for instance, in the case of truths of history, and literature, and biography, and geography—his knowledge depends almost entirely upon authority. Even truths of science and chemistry, of botany, metallurgy, astronomy, and most other “ologies” are, *to a very considerable extent*, dependent upon the same source. Indeed, the longest life is far too brief to prove by strict argument one tithe of the conclusions on which our minds now readily fasten with a sense of perfect security; while, in the case of a great number of facts, no process of argument exists by which they could ever be demonstrated so as to compel conviction. This holds good, not of abstruse and complicated questions only, but even of such as lie on the very surface of our minds. That Tommy Smith, *e.g.*, is Joe Smith’s son may be a certain fact. Tommy has lived all his life under that impression. He has no doubt on the subject. But is he justified in believing it? or is he a fool for his pains? Well, if authority is not sufficient evidence, then no sufficient evidence of the truth exists for him. I defy any one to prove the point to Tommy Smith’s satisfaction if all appeals to authority are to be discountenanced. Old Jenkins the doctor, and Mrs. Boodle the midwife, as well as father and mother, may swear to the fact, but all to no purpose, since such arguments are appeals to mere authority; and authority is at a discount. It is not scientific. It is not worthy of credit. The fact that Tommy has always been treated as a son; that Mr. Smith has birched him when a child, sent him to school at his own expense, and paid his debts, and bailed him out of prison, and treated him always as one of the family, may afford undoubted indications of real affection, but no certain proof of sonship. Men have done more for adopted

waifs and strays. It is the parents' testimony that is alone conclusive; but for that, Tom's relation to Mr. Smith must be classed with the thousands of other unproved opinions.

What is so clearly seen in the case above holds good of millions of facts of which we would no more think of doubting than we would think of doubting of our own identity. To strike off the list all truths that we are unable to verify by a strict and irresistible demonstration would be to rob us of ninety-nine hundredths of all the knowledge we possess. Business and commerce would be impossible; art would become palsied; and all social progress would come to a standstill. Life itself would be unendurable, and stunted beyond the power of words to describe. We are saved from such consequences, solely because men are more logical than they profess to be, and because even those who are loudest in their denunciations of faith are compelled to stultify their own teaching by exercising faith at every turn.

If it be true that we are accustomed to accept thousands of *demonstrable truths without any demonstration*, because life does not afford time to scrutinize and examine for ourselves all that we find it incumbent upon us to believe, it is likewise true that many facts exist which we are simply *incapable* of testing, and which do not admit of any other proof than authority. But if authority be motive enough in the first case, it is difficult to see why it will not suffice in the second.

We believe most firmly that Lord Macaulay lived at the beginning of the present century; nothing could shake our faith in that; yet we can point to nothing but authority for our belief. Even if his works, and his very MSS., be pointed out to us, how are we to assure ourselves that they are really his except upon authority?

We believe in the existence of China, though we have never been even within sight of its coast. Nor is this a probability more or less great. It is a certainty. We have no more doubt of its existence than we have doubt of our own existence. Yet on what does our faith rest? Upon the declaration of men; upon the assurances of travellers, historians, and of pig-tailed pagans who tell us they are themselves natives of that country.

Indeed, the least reflection will at once convince us that authority is as sufficient and solid a basis of truth as any direct evidence adducible, our only care, in evidence of this kind, being to satisfy ourselves that the special authority to which we appeal is a reliable and a trustworthy one. This once shown, the truths proposed will be as certain as a proposition in geometry or as any personal experience.

That such a reliable authority exists in proof of the truths of the Gospel may easily be shown.

Before attempting to prove this it will be well to begin by reminding our readers that religious truths and the dogmas of faith generally do not admit of being proved in any other way. It is intrinsically impossible to demonstrate mathematically, or to prove by any mechanical process, the power of absolution, or the spiritual effects of Baptism : nor are such doctrines capable of being verified by any natural means whatsoever lying within our reach. They are concerned with what is wholly and entirely, and by their very nature, above the reach of all experimental methods. It must be evident to the meanest capacity, that if truths of the supernatural order are to be known at all, it can be only on grounds wholly other than those upon which we come to a knowledge of most natural truths.

This being the fact, it is unreasonable to ask as a condition of their acceptance that they be demonstrated in the same manner as the truths of science. To reject supernatural mysteries because they are incomprehensible we have already shown to be absurd, but to reject them because we cannot apply to them our pet methods is more absurd still. To reject a supernatural doctrine because it cannot be made to answer to a purely natural test is utterly ridiculous. It is to deny sound because it cannot be weighed ; it is to deny the solar spectrum because it cannot be felt or tasted, or served up for breakfast ! Truth, if it come to us at all, must in every case come in a manner conformable to its nature : we can get no knowledge of taste through our ears, however keen ; nor will our eyes, though piercing as an eagle's, ever convey to our brain a message from the realms of sound and harmony ; nor will all our senses put together give us any inkling of the nature of the invisible world, or of the conditions of meriting eternal life. If such knowledge is to be ours, but one way lies open, and that is the way of authority. But does any sufficient and reliable authority exist ? This is the very keystone of the arch. The whole case for Christianity turns upon this cardinal point, and must stand or fall with it.

It would occupy far more time and space than lie at our disposal to draw out, with anything approaching completeness, the motives of our belief. We shall therefore sketch only the barest outline, without attempting to fill it in, and say no more than enough to prove the reliableness of the voice to which we trust, without entering here into the development of the particular arguments.

On a certain date in the world's history a man of humble birth and obscure parentage appears in the country part of Judea. Without any education or special training, He begins to teach and instruct all who will listen to Him. He declares Himself to be the Lord and the Creator of all things ; one who will hereafter come

in great power and majesty to judge the whole world. He claims a right to the obedience and love of every creature who is capable of obeying or loving. He lays down a precise doctrine, He issues special laws, He institutes seven sacraments, He imposes certain conditions for forgiveness of sin and for entrance into heaven, whose portals He opens and shuts at will. In a word, He founds that religion for which thousands have cheerfully died, that religion which we are accused of professing on insufficient grounds, and teaches the various mysterious truths which scientists reject because we have no scientific demonstration to offer in their support.

Now we, as Catholics, of course, have no more doubt of any article of faith than we have of the clearest proposition in Euclid, for, though the character of the motive be in the two cases perfectly distinct, the strength of the motive in the first case is as great—indeed, far greater—than in the second case.

When Christ appeared in the world men were quite as sceptical and as ready to doubt as now, and, if possible, more eager than now for the pleasures and the good things the world had to offer them, and more hungry for sensual enjoyments and the luxuries of life. So that, though they might have listened with patience to a lax doctrine and an easy-going morality, they were by no means ready to embrace without a motive, and a very strong and convincing motive, a doctrine which enjoined self-denial, penance, a strict life, and obedience to precepts most opposed to nature. They would have wanted to know the reason of such self-discipline and restraint, and on what authority Christ undertook not merely to lead them, but to force them, under threats of eternal punishment, to live according to a standard far above that to which they had been accustomed.

They would no more have listened to Him had He failed to prove His claim than they listened to any one of the many impostors that appeared in previous ages.

They demanded what every thoughtful Christian demands at the present day, viz., solid and convincing proofs of the trustworthiness of the authority speaking. The world would have given Christ no more credit than any other had He not shown Himself unmistakably more worthy of credit. Neither we nor any sensible man can accept anything that He says till He satisfies our minds that He is a heaven-sent messenger; the son of the living God, knowing what none but God can know. He must convince us that He is what He represents Himself before we can rest satisfied of the truth of any single supernatural doctrine that He propounds, or of any single law that He promulgates.

It is a gross and insolent libel to pretend that we are less particular as to our grounds of faith than infidels and agnostics.

When they have shown interest enough in truth to die by thousands in its defence, as Christians have died in defence of their religion, they may dispute this claim with us. At present there is no room for dispute.

Christ satisfied the minds of His followers and confirmed His assertions by tests which none could dispute, and which were overwhelmingly convincing.

He showed who He was by what He did. His acts proved Him to be above all law, and above nature itself. He changed, transposed, suspended, or reversed at pleasure the most intimate properties and qualities of things, as no one could have done who was not Master and Lord of all. The diseased grew well under His touch, and the languid strong. He had but to say the word, and the blind saw, the deaf heard, and the dumb spoke. Even the dead obeyed His voice, and rose again; and Lazarus, though fallen to corruption, sprang to life at His bidding. The tempests were instantly stilled at His command, and the winds and the seas recognized His voice. He walked on the waves, He multiplied the loaves, He changed water into wine, and infused heavenly wisdom and the courage of martyrdom into poor ignorant and weak men, and proved in a thousand ways the power and authority to which He lay claim. It was in consequence of such wondrous miracles that people believed in Christ, as in the case of Nicodemus, who said:—"Master, we know that you come from God, because no one could do the works that You do if God were not with Him." (John iii. 2). The most convincing and crowning proof of all is perhaps His own resurrection, which, while the most striking, is at the same time the most incontestable of all His marvellous acts. To these we must add the fulfilment of prophecies which were made centuries before, foretelling the special circumstances of his birth, life, passion, death, and resurrection, as well as the time of his advent. Micheas (v. 2), seven hundred years before the event, foretold that He would be born at Bethlehem; Isaiah that a virgin would be His mother (vii. 14), and so on with regard to a large number of other circumstances. Moses, David, Isaiah, Jeremias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias, all bore testimony to His life and character—a testimony fully borne out in His history. These prophecies and their accomplishment, when thoroughly gone into and viewed in all their bearings, afford evidence which it is impossible to explain away, and impossible to deny.

A further proof of the reasonableness of our faith arises from the whole course of the world's history, especially since Christ came upon earth.

Our confidence in the authority of Christ, considered merely as an historical personage, rests not only upon (a) the absolute stainlessness of His character, (b) the sublimity of His doctrine,

(c) the beauty and virtuousness of His life and death, (d) the innumerable miracles He wrought, (e) the events He prophesied, (f), His resurrection and ascension, &c.; * but also on the social changes it wrought, and the extraordinary effects it produced among men, which are nothing more nor less than inconceivable on any other hypothesis, but that Christ is God, and, therefore, His word divine and of authority enough for any reasonable being.

He drew around Him when on earth, and continues still to draw after Him, vast multitudes, who, following in His footsteps, resist their natural appetites, and forsake all the illicit pleasures of the world. He has won the hearts, and still controls the wills, of myriads, not by the violence of arms, not by the promise of worldly honours or rewards, but independently of all such motives, by the mere force of His teaching. In the very face of persecution, and with imprisonment, torture, and death, before them, thousands of men, the learned and the wise, as well as the ignorant and the simple, have hastened to acknowledge Him as King and Master; and embraced with enthusiasm a religion, teaching doctrines exceeding the range of the most gifted intellect, imposing commands of the highest virtue, and prohibiting all the luxuries and sensual joys of life, and inspiring a contempt for all that is in the world. That millions should cheerfully assent to such doctrines is indeed a stupendous miracle, and manifestly the effect of a divine impulse; for on no other grounds can we conceive multitudes of men, such as the saints and religious of all ages; condemning all visible things to live only for the invisible. As St. Thomas points out, the conversion of the world to Christianity through the person of Christ is evidence enough (even apart from the other sources of proof) of the truth of Christ's statements; and he adds:—"It would be the greatest miracle of all if the world had been induced to believe what is so unimaginable, to do what is so hard, to hope for what is so exalted, without miracle or supernatural signs, on the mere persuasion of a few illiterate men (See St. Th. Contr. Gen., l. i. c. vi.).

Look upon the pagan world in the time of Christ, and the

* The chief motives of our belief in Christianity are fairly summed up by Mir., viz.:—" (1) Su santidad eminente, (2) su prodigiosa propagacion, (3) su fecundidad inagotable en toda suerte de bienes, (4) su admirable unidad, junta con universalidad y extension prodigiosas, (5) su constancia, su permanencia y estabilidad desafiando á todas las potestades del infierno ayudadas de las concupiscencias imponderables de que es capaz el depravado corazon del hombre, estas y otras mil prerogativas admirables hacen de esta Santa Iglesia un argumento gravísimo, perdurable, é invencible de la verdad de los misterios que propone, y un testimonio irrefragable de su origen y legacion divina."—"Harmonia," &c., U.P.M. Mir., p. 122.

world of to-day, and contemplate the contrast. How was the change effected? By the power of Christ alone. He took twelve men from the lowest ranks of the people; He sent them to deliver His message to the four corners of the earth, and the earth heard and believed them. His teaching prevailed in spite of every species of opposition, and penetrated into the most distant countries. It passed through the crucible of the severest trials. The blood of an innumerable host of martyrs testify to the violence of the opposition that it met with from physical force, while whole libraries of volumes prove the severity of its struggle with hostile philosophies and adverse critics. It has sustained a tremendous and prolonged warfare with the civil powers, with ambitious princes, with learned disputants, and survived attack after attack, while the most violent passions, interests, and prejudices of men have proved powerless against it. The united efforts of every form of opposition have sought to destroy it, and it has triumphed over all. And "what means," asks Balmes, "did the propagators of Christianity employ? Preaching and example confirmed by miracles. These miracles the most scrupulous criticism has not been able to reject, and if it should reject them, it is no matter, for then must be admitted the greatest of all miracles, the conversion of the world without miracles."

It must be borne in mind further, that "Christianity has counted among its children men the most eminent for virtue and learning. No nation, ancient or modern, has risen to the degree of civilization and culture to which those who profess it have reached. About no religion has so much been disputed and written as about the Christian. Libraries are filled with master-works of criticism and philosophy due to men who humbly bowed their understanding to the yoke of faith; therefore that religion is beyond the reach of the attacks which might be made against those which sprung up and prospered among gross and ignorant peoples. It has all the characteristics of being true—divine" (Balmes).*

We have seen that there are two methods of arriving at truth: the direct method, or demonstration, and the indirect method, or

* Pius IX. says (in his Encyc. 9 November, 1846): "Quam multa, quam mira, quam splendida praesto sunt argumenta, quibus humana ratio *luculentissime evinci debet*, divinam esse Christi religionem et omne dogmatum nostrorum principium radicem coelitus accepisse, etc." After quoting these words, Scheeben observes: "Der Ausdruck '*evinci debet*,' statt '*convincitur*,' deutet an, dass der Beweis die *convictio* nicht mit absolut zwingender Nothwendigkeit aufdrängt, sondern bloss die Annahme derselben fordert, &c."—See the whole "Zweiter Theil," p. 300-320 ("Kath. Dogmatik.").

authority. We have seen further that authority is the easier method, the commoner method, and in a vast number of instances the only practical and available method. It is also a reasonable, a secure and satisfactory method. Hence we are no more unreasonable or credulous because we believe the Christian dogmas, than Tommy Smith is unreasonable or credulous because he believes himself to be the son of his reputed father, Mr. Smith.

If we can show our authority is legitimate and trustworthy, it is as much as any one has any right to demand. This we could easily do, did time and space allow us. What we have done, however, is perhaps enough, and that is to indicate very briefly the lines of proof without developing them. If developed (as they are in countless learned and voluminous works) it will be clearly seen that, as reasonable and practical men, we are perfectly justified in putting an unfaltering trust and an unhesitating faith in the teaching of Christ, and that if Christianity is professed by hundreds of millions of men, including the wisest and the most learned, as well as the most pure, generous, self-sacrificing, and holy, it is because it is so solidly founded, and so evidently divine.

For every truth of Christianity which we believe Christ is our guarantee. And our reliance upon Him rests upon the testimony of—

1. Miracles ;
2. Prophecy ;
3. His personal character, and the influence of His name even at the present day ;
4. The nature of His doctrine ;
5. The marvellous development and spread of His teaching in spite of its character, so opposed to man's corrupt nature, so mysterious to his limited intelligence ;
6. The innumerable martyrs who have died in testimony to the truth ;
7. The biographies of the saints, each of which, even taken singly, is inexplicable without the solution offered by faith ;
8. The history of the Church since Christ's time ; and, especially,
9. The history of the Papacy from Peter to Leo XIII.

Upon these, as upon a most firm basis, our confidence in Christ as a heavenly-sent messenger rests. Long and learned treatises

might be written upon each point in succession.* And while any one taken singly would be enough to satisfy an unprejudiced mind, their collective force, when focussed, is irresistibly strong and cogent.

From this we conclude that we are fully justified in accepting the teaching of Christ, and that, in professing with unwavering confidence the Christian Faith, we are acting as thoroughly reasonable and prudent men. It would need but little to show that, as the proper exercise of reason leads by God's grace to the acquisition of Faith, so the acquisition of Faith leads in its turn to solid peace and true happiness.

Luce intellettuale piena d'amore,
Amor di vero ben pien di letizia
Letizia che trascende ogni dolzore.
(Dante, Parad. xxx.)

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

ART. V.—HARNACK ON THE "DE ALEATORIBUS."

DR. GASQUET has already introduced this subject to the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW † and the *Tablet*, but some may be interested to have a more detailed account of the substance and manner of Harnack's critique. The Professor of Marburg, the well-known Lutheran patrologist, has presented us ‡ with what is practically a fresh second-century testimony to the authority of the Pope. He has identified the pseudo-Cyprianic tract, "De Aleatoribus," as a Pastoral Instruction of a second-century Pope, in all probability Pope St. Victor. In the first chapter or section of the tract the author claims for himself the vicariate of Christ and the apostolic leadership, resting his claims upon Matt. xvi. 18, 19, and further on upon John xxi. 13-15. Now, the unique interest of this testimony lies in the fact that, though we have considerable evidence in the writings

* Each of the following points, touched upon by St. Augustine, might be expanded into a treatise:—"Consensus populorum, miraculorum frequentia, successio Pontificum continua, catholica nomen justissimo titulo possessum, martyrum constantia, prophetiae donum, sanctimonia et sapientia doctorum et aliorum catholicorum, conformitas cum Scriptura sacra," etc. (Aug. Ep. adv. Manich, c. 4).

† See DUBLIN REVIEW, January 1889, p. 225.

‡ "Texte und Untersuch. Altchrist. Lit." V. Band. Heft 1. Leipzig. 1888.

of the Fathers as to how the Popes bore themselves in the controversies of the second century—in the controversies concerning Easter, and the penance discipline, for instance—and we know that various authoritative Papal instruments must have existed, yet, in fact, not one has come down to us. This tract, if Harnack's theory be substantiated, is the earliest literary product of a Latin Pope, and the first application of the classical texts of St. Matthew and St. John to the support of Papal authority that has reached us.

Professor Harnack is a critic first, whatever he may be afterwards, and we have every reason to be most grateful for the uncompromising way in which he has worked out and evaluated every one of the multitudinous points relating to the history and contents of the document. That, when all the scholar's work is done, he should bethink himself that there is a Roman controversy with certain claims upon Lutheran partisanship, need hardly surprise us. He concludes with an ingenious attempt to attenuate the force of the testimony, forasmuch that, as he would maintain, the Pope is speaking as a bishop and in the name of the other bishops, and so lays no claim to the texts that he does not share with them. We hope to be able to show that the Professor's critical work has been done with too much completeness for any such *effugium* to be practicable. We can but gratefully use his own critical apparatus against him. I propose to follow with some minuteness his exhaustive appreciation of the document.

ITS TEXTUAL TRADITION AND LITERARY HISTORY.

The tract "*De Aleatoribus*" is not found in the earliest MSS. of St. Cyprian's works, nor in the Cyprianic catalogue discovered by Mommsen of the date 359. It first appears amongst the works of Cyprian in a MS. (*circa* 700) no longer extant, but represented by four transcripts of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. Harnack has assured himself by a collation of MSS. that this tract has completely escaped interpolation, although in two out of these four transcripts the old Scripture quotations preserved in the others have been reduced to the form of the Vulgate. The text of our tract is unfortunately corrupt and in some places defective. The tract has never been quoted as Cyprian's, so far as Harnack can discover, either in patristic times or in the early Middle Ages, but is first so quoted by certain uncritical writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Since Pamelius's edition of 1568 its attribution to Cyprian has on intrinsic grounds been entirely abandoned.

Pamelius was the first to suggest that it must be the work "of some Roman Pontiff," and adds that "the style is not very

unlike Cyprian's, and that several of the Scripture passages are cited as Cyprian cites them." Bellarmine ("de Script. Eccles.") expresses the same opinion. It is recorded without comment by Fell and Pearson in their edition of 1690, and by Cave. Dupin makes what Harnack calls the "cheap and inadequate" remark, that the author need not have been a Pope, because the title he gives himself of "Vicarius Christi" was bestowed by antiquity upon all bishops. Dom Maran, in his edition of 1728, follows Bellarmine, and adds that, whilst the form of the Scripture citations makes for its antiquity, the implication which it is supposed to contain that gambling was a common vice amongst the clergy would seem to suggest a later age. We may add that Tillemont (St. Cyprien, 1696) has anticipated the Benedictine in both remarks; for the latter of which he refers to the Lutheran Rivetus ("Crit. sac." l. 2. c. 15). This last-named writer, whilst following Bellarmine in the attribution, emphasizes what he regards as the Novatianist character of the doctrine. For some time past, until quite recently, patrologists, both on the Catholic and Protestant side, have passed over the tract in silence; have, in fact, fought shy of it. This is sufficiently intelligible if we consider that if, on the one hand, it bears splendid witness to Papal claims, on the other its language is illiterate, its discipline, if not its doctrine, rigoristic, and it quotes as Holy Scripture what is certainly nothing of the kind; in fact, presents various incongruities requiring nothing less than the apparatus of modern criticism to reconcile and explain them.

Harnack gives us a recension of his own differing somewhat from that of the Benedictine editor, and following in the main Hartel, a recent German editor of St. Cyprian. I proceed to give an analysis and illustration of the contents of the tract.

It thus begins: "We have great concern for the whole brotherhood (*ob universam fraternitatem*), Christians (*fideles*), particularly for this the criminal audacity of those abandoned men the dicers, who plunge souls by crime into the pit of death. Since, then, the divine and paternal benevolence hath bestowed upon us the leadership of the Apostolate (*Apostolatûs ducatum*), and in heavenly condescension hath ordained for us the vicariate chair of the Lord (*vicariam Domini sedem*), and we carry in virtue of our predecessor (*superiore nostro portamus*) the origin of the authentic Apostolate (*originem authentici apostolatûs*) upon which Christ hath founded His Church, having received too the power of loosing and binding with the office of remitting sins, we are by the doctrine of salvation admonished, lest through our assiduous pardoning of offenders we should with them suffer a like torment." Then, speaking in the person of the whole episcopate, he exhorts himself and all other bishops, the *sal*

terrore, not to bring down on themselves the woe denounced upon negligent shepherds, and to take care "that by means of heavenly medicine their flocks may furnish rich fleeces, such as may attain to the brightness of the heavenly garment." After the citation of the text John xxi. 15: "Peter lovest thou me . . . feed my sheep," the bishops are exhorted not to vex (*cohabitatori nostro*) "the Holy Ghost whom we have received through the imposition of hands." They are reminded that a bishop bearing himself worthily may offer "condigna martyria sine tribulatione corporis," "a martyr's offering," or, as Harnack would prefer, "receive a martyr's honours, without bodily anguish." This introduction occupies the first four sections or chapters of the tract. The remaining seven contain a detailed invective against gambling and its train of vices and miseries. First and foremost, it is an act of idolatry. The player begins with a sacrifice to the inventor (the devil), and, even when he does not himself offer sacrifice, he joins with those who do, and becomes a partaker in their idolatry. Then follow contentions, and debauchery, and thefts, and perjury, and beggary. The gambler's society is a "rabiosa amicitia," a "fraternitas discordans." "O thou diers' sedentary mischief and lazy iniquity." "O cruel hand, armed with self-danger, ruining with disgraceful zeal goods won by the toil of father and grandfather." "How is it Christians, I demand of you, that a hand purified of offences against man, and admitted to the sacrifice of the Lord, which receives by God's condescension what appertains to the salvation of the whole man, which is raised in prayer and praise of the Lord, which marks the distinguishing sign of Christ upon the forehead, which consummates the divine sacraments, should be involved again in the devil's noose from which it has been delivered?" "Christian, that playest at dice, thou oughtest to know that thou art no Christian, but that thy name is Pagan" (*Ethnicum*). This is one of those sins directly against God (*delictum in Deum*), for which "no excuse or indulgence or let off" (*venia*) is provided in the discipline of the Church. He concludes with a really noble burst of eloquence. "Esto potius non aleator sed Christianus" (play at least for Christian stakes). "In Christ's presence, angels and martyrs looking on the while, cast down thy money on the table of the Lord; that patrimony of thine, which in mad heat thou perchance hadst lost, divide amongst the poor; entrust thy stakes to Christ the conqueror. Servant recreate thyself with thy Lord, obey the Divine impulse, imitate thy master's art that wins and does not lose. . . . Play out thy daily game with the poor; exercise thyself frequently with widows. Divert to Church purposes all thine income and furniture. Lay up thy gold and silver and monies in the celestial

treasury; thy farms and villas by a just transaction convey into Paradise. Give thyself to incessant almsdeeds, and works of charity that thy sins may be forgiven thee. . . . Be patient and Christian . . . look not back upon the dice. Amen.

Harnack, in order to determine the age and probable authorship of the tract proceeds to discuss—1. The character of its teaching. 2. Its form and language. 3. Its citations from Scripture.

THE CHARACTER OF ITS TEACHING.

Games of chance were forbidden by the laws of ancient Rome except during the Saturnalia. Harnack cannot find any early Christian writer, with the exception of our author, who distinctly connects dicing with idolatry. The first official notice of dicing in the Christian church is that of the 79th canon of the Council of Elvira (c. 300), which runs: "If any Christian play at dice or tables for money, it is decreed that he refrain, and that if he reform and leave off, after a year he may be received to communion." Here there is no reference to any idolatrous character in the game, and the *crimen immortale* of the "De Aleatoribus" is pardoned after a year's penance. Our tract, then, must have been written before the milder view expressed by the Council had become prevalent. Harnack disposes of the difficulty which some of the earlier critics found in the supposed imputation of priestly gambling by reminding us that the hand which receives the sacrament need not, according to the then usage, be other than a layman's. He points out that the rigoristic language in which the unpardonable character of the crime is denounced would certainly have been modified had it been later than the condemnation of Novatian (c. 251); neither would a Pope have so spoken after the mitigatory legislation of Zephyrinus and his successor Callixtus. As to the doctrine itself, which has proved a stumbling-block to various Catholic critics, and is roundly asserted by the Lutheran Rivet to be Novatianist, although it breathes the rigour of ancient discipline, Novatianist it certainly is not. Novatian, none of whose writings on this point have come down to us, is, on the authority of St. Ambrose and others, commonly accredited with the Montanist doctrine that the Church had in her regular ministers no power whatever to forgive grave sin committed after baptism, or, at least, that her power did not extend to the grave sins of adultery, apostasy (idolatry) and homicide. It is true he pretended to allow of penance, but this was a mere fiction. As St. Cyprian tells us, he took away "all hope of salvation." It must be remembered that the ancient Church, especially in the West, had, soon after apostolic times, introduced a measure of discip-

line of the severest character in regard to the above-mentioned offences. Such sinners even on their death-beds were never completely reconciled so as to receive holy communion; and the same discipline seems to have prevailed in regard to those who had deferred the penance due to any grave sin until their death-bed. This discipline was gradually relaxed by the legislative action of St. Zephyrinus (c. 197), his successors, St. Callixtus and St. Cornelius (c. 251). In 401, Pope Innocent I. ("Ep. ad Exuperium") speaks of the aforesaid ancient discipline as having yielded to the modern practice of allowing all penitents communion on their death-beds. This is the view upon a most perplexed subject taken finally by Petavius in his notes to Synesius (see Zaccaria's edition of 1757). Although the author of the "De Aleatoribus" is abnormally severe in treating dicing as constructive idolatry, there is no mistaking the sincerity of his exhortation to penitent dicers to redeem their sins by almsgiving, and to transfer their possessions into Paradise.

ITS FORM AND LANGUAGE.

Harnack points out that the "De Aleatoribus" is addressed to the faithful generally (*fideles*); that it is a moral instruction for the benefit both of the bishops and of their flocks, urging on the one the duty of enforcing strict discipline, on the other the duty of behaving in a manner befitting a "holy people." The tract is no mere homily, neither is it a letter, synodical or otherwise, but it is a missive intended for wide circulation, conveying moral instruction in a hortatory form. Its language is the low Latin of the Roman and African populace, a corruption rather than a dialect; a grammatical jumble, in which, not unfrequently, one case is substituted for another, and genders are confused and voices lost; sufficiently interesting to a student of language, as marking, either the vestige of an original chaos, or the transition from a language of inflections to one where inflections are not, but startling at first sight in a Papal document. We possess five other documents in this lingo, all of them amongst the Cyprianic correspondence: (1) The letter of the Roman clergy *sede vacante* to the Carthaginian clergy on the flight of Cyprian; (2) a letter of the Roman Celerinus to the Carthaginian Lucian; (3) Lucian's answer; (4) a letter of the Confessors to St. Cyprian; (5) a letter of Caldonius to St. Cyprian and his clergy.

It is noteworthy that another letter of the Roman to the Carthaginian clergy, also during the vacancy after Fabian's death, the composition of Novatian, as St. Cyprian affirms it to have been, is in the normal Latin of the educated.

The style of our tract is neither that of Tertullian nor of

Cyprian. Its rhetoric is altogether its own, and Harnack witnesses to the entire absence of "word, conception, or form of expression" suggesting any later time. The vocabulary is more akin to that of Tertullian than to Cyprian's, but there is no evidence that the author was acquainted with either writer: the favourite terms of expression of Tertullian and Cyprian are not forthcoming.

SCRIPTURE CITATIONS.

In the six columns taken up by the "*De Aleatoribus*" in the Benedictine folio, there are seven citations from the Old Testament, twenty-two from the New. Two of these latter are mere echoes, and two are interwoven in the text, and in one case three distinct passages are reproduced as one. The New Testament books cited are the Gospel according to St. Matthew and St. John, First Epistle of St. John, Romans, First Corinthians, Galatians, First Timothy, and the Apocalypse. The version used is akin to the old Italic. How far such deviations as appear are due to lapse of memory or are of set purpose and indicate a particular version, it is not possible to decide. Instead of the distinction of Old and New Testaments which we meet with in Tertullian, our author divides his authorities into three groups: (1) The prophetic writings, including the whole of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse introduced by the words "*Dicit Scriptura Divina*" or "*Dicit Dominus*," to which is added once, in order to distinguish a passage from Samuel from some words of our Lord immediately preceding, "*per prophetam*." (2) Our Lord's own word in the Gospel indicated by "*Dicit Dominus in Evangelio*." (3) The Apostolic Epistles introduced by "*Dicit Apostolus*" or the like. This threefold division corresponds with the oldest form of the Western Canon which has come down to us in the "*Muratorian Fragment*." Harnack says that this was very probably composed in the beginning of the third century. The same distinction between the prophets and Gospels as Holy Scripture and the Apostles, is found in both. Harnack remarks that the same contrast is emphasized in the pseudo-Clementines and in the Acts of the Martyrs of Scilium (*temp. Commodi* 180-193),* who when asked what where their Scriptures, answered, "Our Bibles and, besides them, the Epistles of Paul, the holy man." On the other hand whilst the "*Muratorian Fragment*" rejects the "*Shepherd*" of Hermas from the circle of the Scriptures, the "*De Aleatoribus*" (c. ii.) introduces a passage therefrom with "*Dicit Scriptura Divina*"; and (c. iv.) another passage, probably from Hermas, with "*in alio loco*,"

* Greek Text, transl. ap. Allard *Hist. des Persecut.* Tome i. p. 438.

amongst the quotations from St. Paul's Epistles. The last person, so far as is known, who cites Hermas as Divine Scripture in Rome was the Pope against whom Tertullian directs his "*De Pudicitia*," a late Montanist work, whose precise date is unascertained. Tertullian distinctly implies that his Papal adversary has made this use of Hermas. The Pope must have been either Zephyrinus or Callixtus. St. Cyprian, whose literary activity began *circa* 245, does not once use Hermas, although he had many occasions for doing so. The Roman clergy in their letter to Cyprian *sede vacante* (Cypr. Ep. viii.) actually begin to cite Hermas, and then fall back upon and substitute a Scripture authority.

In the same c. iv., amongst quotations from the Pauline Epistles, appears a passage, "*Si quis frater deliquet in Ecclesiam*," &c., introduced by "*in doctrinis Apostolorum est*," which is probably identified as a citation from the recently discovered "*Doctrina duodecim Apostolorum*." The plural form, "*doctrinæ*," is found in Eusebius and Anastasius of Antioch. This work is not quoted as Scripture by any of the Western Fathers, but Harnack finds it so quoted by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. i. 20, 100) A.D. 190-203, whereas for his pupil Origen, who knows the work, it is no longer Scripture. There is in c. ii. another passage cited as Divine Scripture which cannot be traced. Harnack finds further evidence of antiquity in two citations, c. iii., "*Monet Dominus et dicit 'nolite contristari spiritum sanctum qui in vobis est' et 'nolite extinguere lumen quod in vobis effulsit'*." They are found in none of the Apocryphal Gospels that have come down to us, and there is every reason for supposing them to be a delivery of oral tradition. We may find a parallel instance in the words attributed to Our Lord by St. Irenæus, "*Be ye wise money changers*."

RECAPITULATION OF EVIDENCE FOR ANTIQUITY.

I. Character of the moral theology: (1) the severe treatment of dicing as a form of idolatry as contrasted with the Canon of Elvira; (2) rigourism of discipline with regard to sins *in Deum*, regard being had to the Papal legislation at the beginning of the third century; (3) unscientific catalogue of sins without distinction of mortal and venial, resembling in this the list in St. Mark and in the "*Doctrina Apostolorum*." II. The illiterate form of the language and Tertullianistic vocabulary. III. The character of the Scripture citations: (1) absence of distinction between Old and New Testaments; (2) unhesitating acceptance of the "*Shepherd*" of Hermas as Scripture, in this resembling St. Irenæus and no Pope later than Callixtus; (3) the citation as

Divine Scripture of a passage which cannot be traced; (4) the two words of the Lord either belonging to oral tradition or to some unknown writing; (5) the citation of the "*Doctrina Apostolorum*" as on an equal footing with the Pauline Epistles; (6) the exceptional freedom used in the citations from the Epistles, as though these belonged to some lower category than that of Divine Scripture. I need not here notice Harnack's formal reply (p. 89 note) to the arguments of some early critics against the antiquity of the tract; they have really no longer any *locus standi*.

BIRTHPLACE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE TRACT.

In his last section Harnack combines his evidence for antiquity with his evidence for authoritative pretension, and rounds it into a demand for a Pope as author of the tract; a Pope of the outgoing second century; a Latin-speaking Pope, who would presumably use the vulgar dialect, severe, energetic. And the likeliest, indeed, the only one likely, would seem to be St. Victor, the African, the masterful champion of the Latin Easter, the excommunicator of the Adoptianist Theodotus; the man who was, if we are to believe Tertullian, inclined to treat the Montanists with favour, though he afterwards condemned them. He points out that the expressions in the "*De Aleatoribus*," which denote that Christians are not for the moment being persecuted—*e.g.*, c. vi., "*Qualis sunt fideles ut quos nemo persequitur se ipsos invidia persequantur*"—fit in well with the peace which, during Victor's time, was obtained from Commodus through the influence of his Christian concubine Marcia (see Hippolytus, "*Refut.*" ix. 12). Again, Victor alone, amongst the Popes of that period, is spoken of as an author, not merely of Church legislation, but of *Opuscula*. St. Jerome ("*De Vir. illust.*" c. 34) says: "Victor, thirteenth Bishop of the City of Rome, who wrote upon the Paschal question and sundry other *Opuscula*, ruled the Church," and then (c. 35) reckons Tertullian as the third ecclesiastical Latin writer "after Victor and Apollonius," and in his "*Chronicle*" says of the same Pope, "*cujus mediocria de religione exstant volumina*," the "*mediocria*" referring either to bulk or style, probably to both, showing that he knew them. One of these, we may assume, may very well have been our tract.

Harnack here resumes and completes the careful word by word examination of c. i., of which he had already given us the skeleton in his foot-notes to the text, in which the Pope designates his own position. His task here is a difficult and delicate one. He has at once to vindicate the position of Pamelius and Bellarmine, which he has made his own; that we have here language which designates its author and subject as nothing less

than Pope, and at the same time so to vindicate it as not to give too signal a triumph to a traditional enemy. Whilst endeavouring to show that he has failed to give its full force to the Pope's assertion of his prerogative, I wish to express in the most ungrudging manner my sense of the extent to which the Professor's critical spirit dominates the meaner exigencies of sectarian controversy. Whether it be for the convenience of his theory or the reverse, so far as in him lies, he will leave no stone unturned. If I succeed in establishing my point it will be almost entirely by using the material or following out the hints with which he has supplied me.

"Magna nobis ob universam fraternitatem cura est fideles. . . . et quoniam in nobis divina et paterna pietas Apostolatus ducatum contulit, et vicariam Domini sedem celesti dignatione ordinavit, et originem authenticum Apostolatus super quem Christus fundavit Ecclesiam in superiore nostro portamus, accepta simul potestate solvendi ac ligandi et cum ratione peccata dimittendi: salutari doctrina admoneamur, ne dum delinquentibus assidue ignoscimus, ipsi cum eis pariter torquemur."

Harnack discusses the question whether the plural "nos" of this first chapter is the we of dignity = "we the Pope" or the collective "we" = "we the bishops." In the former case the texts of St. Matthew are applied to the Pope individually and exclusively, in the latter to the bishops collectively and to each one individually, the Pope included. He admits that taking this first chapter by itself we should naturally adopt the former view; but he contends that in the light of the use of "nos" in the second and third chapters we are bound to adopt the latter. C. ii. "et ideo sal terræ dicimur ut ex nobis omnis fraternitas cælesti sapientia salietur." "Ne . . . juxta quosdam fratres inertes reperiamur." C. iii., immediately after the text John xxi: "Pasce oves meas se," "Et quoniam episcopi idem spiritum sanctum per impositionem manû cordis exceperimus hospitio, cohabitatori nostro nullam mœstetiam proponamus." In these latter passages since the "nos" is evidently collective, we must conclude that the "nos" of chapter i. is collective also. Now, upon this I observe that Harnack has himself drawn attention to the loose appositional character of the phrasing. In chapters v. and vi. the singular "dico" "quæso" is adopted; in chapter vii. the plural "proponamus." There is nothing then out of character with the style, but rather the reverse, in the supposition that the "nos" is not used in precisely the same sense in chapters i. and ii. Indeed, Harnack has admitted that the "nos" in chapters i. and vii. is not the same, being in the former collective in the latter literary. Curiously enough we find the same mingled use

of the singular and plural, as Harnack points out, in a work of a very different character, in the Proeme to the "Refutation of all Heresies," commonly attributed to Hippolytus, in which he claims for himself and for the episcopate the divine right and duty to instruct the faithful. If this writer was, as most critics suppose, an anti-pope, he might be expected to use current Papal forms. But this by the way: the real stress of the controversy over chap. i. must turn upon the following questions:—(1) How far any bishop, save the Pope, can be accredited with an inherent, humanly uncommissioned right to speak in the name of the whole episcopate? (2) How far such expressions as "Apostolatûs ducatum," "vicariam Domini sedem," "originem authenticici apostolatûs" can be verified of an episcopal cathedra as such and independently of the Roman See?

(1) I say "uncommissioned right," for Harnack admits that our tract was most certainly not the issue of a Synod, and is undeniably the work of an individual, undertaken on an individual's responsibility. Well may he exclaim (p. 104) "who would venture to put these words into the mouth of any other bishop save the Roman?" The idea of the possible authorship of a Carthaginian Bishop flits for a moment before his mind; but he remembers St. Cyprian's recognition of the Roman See as the "origo unitatis," the "locus Petri;" and that Tertullian, when he thinks of episcopal power, instinctively turns his eyes, not to Carthage, but to Rome (p. 96).

(2) Let us take the more important phrases of c. 1 one by one. "Apostolatûs ducatum," Harnack would understand here not the primacy, the hegemony of the Apostolate, but the leadership inherent in the Apostolate, the Apostolate itself. The phrase, as it stands, is found nowhere else. In the hymn for the Common of Apostles we indeed address them as "Belli triumphales duces," but there is no natural or conventional association between the terms "apostolatus" and "ducatus" such as would justify the use of "ducatus" to express a quality or office inherent in the apostolate, without further explanation of the sense intended. On the other hand as expressing the relationship of St. Peter to the Apostolic College it is sufficiently familiar. As a few instances out of many, "Dux apostolorum" (Auct. de Rebapt. 9 ap. Galland, iv. p. 366): *σπαρτηγός* (Euseb. H. E. ii. c. 14); *ἀρχηγός* (Epiph. H. 51, i. p. 440). In his foot-note (p. 12) Harnack has collected a number of passages from classical and ecclesiastical writers to illustrate the use of "ducatus." They are not very much to the point. "Ducatus" means either the office of leader or the act of leading. Of the passages quoted, in which "ducatus" is used with a genitive, the relation may always be expressed by "to" or "by," not once by "of" in the sense of

inherent in; and once, at least, it has the sense I desiderate, of "of" = over; "ducatum habere aerem elementorum Assyrii volunt" ("Firm. Matern." iv. i.). Harnack admits that the claim to this hegemony of the Apostolate was equivalently made both by Callixtus and by Stephen. We may add that St. Irenæus's phrase "principalitas" (αὐθεντία, *auctoritas*) is very much akin to "ducatus" ("propter potiore principalitatem" applied to the Roman Church as a ground for all agreeing with her). This same term is continued in St. Cyprian's "Ecclesiam Principalem" (Ep. 55), and St. Augustine's "In qua semper Apostolicæ cathedræ viguit principatus" (Ep. 48). See, too, the remarkable words of the pagan, Am. Marcellinus ("Rer. Gest." i. c. 15) circa 360, which sound like an echo of St. Irenæus, "auctoritate qua potiores æternæ urbis episcopi."

"Vicariam Domini sedem." This phrase, taken by itself, might be appropriated by a bishop, but, taken in conjunction with its context, at least implies a vicariate of Christ κατ' ἔξοχον. Again, it is one seat, not the various episcopal thrones.

"Origo authenticæ Apostolatûs" (super quem Christus fundavit Ecclesiam), "the source of the authentic Apostolate." St. Cyprian (Ep. 48, 3) calls the Roman Church "the womb and root ('matrix et radix') of the Catholic Church" and elsewhere.* "origo unitatis." This phrase of our tract Harnack admits does designate the "Cathedra Petri," but he urges that all bishops share therein. Undoubtedly they do, so far as they are in communion with the occupant of that See; so far as they form a portion, to use a phrase of Tertullian's, of the "ecclesia Petri propinqua;" but not otherwise. "In superiore nostro portamus," "we possess in virtue of our predecessor the source of the Apostolate." Here the predecessor is St. Peter. "We possess the source of the Apostolate in virtue of our occupying the 'locus Petri.'" Harnack prefers to understand by "superiore nostro" the immediate predecessor of each of the bishops = "superioribus nostris." He will not allow (p. 101) any insistence upon the force of the singular form because of the general looseness of the language. But it is hardly fair when we are engaged in a process of minute verbal criticism, to appeal, when a point is made against us, to looseness of language. Our author, to all appearance, has contrived to say very much what he means.

To return once more to the question of the use of "nos" in the first chapter. I am willing to grant that it is something more than the "nos" of dignity; that it is in some sense collective. It means "I and you," Peter and the "ecclesia propinqua"; I, in virtue of my occupying the "place of Peter,"

* Ep. 5. "Unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est."

you, in virtue of your forming in communion with me one Episcopate. That there is some such distinction within the collective "nos" is virtually admitted by Harnack when he says (p. 45) that though the author does not address his tract formally to the bishops as distinguished from the other "fideles," yet that he speaks at them and means them to read and take to heart what he is saying, whilst he exhorts and warns them as to their official duties on the one hand, and their subjects as to their corresponding duties on the other. This distinction is further borne out by the consideration that a bishop as such had certainly no claim, according to the language of the day, to an immediate appropriation of the "*originem authentici apostolatûs*." With Tertullian the "*ecclesiæ apostolicæ matrices originales fidei*" (see *Præscript.* 21) are the churches immediately founded by the Apostles; with St. Cyprian it is the Roman Church alone that is the "*matrix et radix*." Yet if any bishops are included in the "nos" it is all who are so included and therefore included with a distinction. Harnack has persuaded himself that the attribution of these privileges, the application of the great texts of Matthew and John to the bishops, together with the Pope, marks an earlier stage of Papal pretension than the action of Callixtus and Stephen, who seem to have appropriated the texts to themselves. But this is surely not the case, the theological position is precisely the same. Always the Pope presumes that he carries, as he has the right to do, the bishops with him, and with him they possess all that he possesses. It is only when in matter of fact a bishop resists the Pope in the exercise of his office that the latter in any degree dissociates himself from the episcopate by bringing into relief the exclusive character of his direct possession of the "*origo Apostolatûs*."

In conclusion I must be allowed again to express my gratitude to Professor Harnack for one of the most masterly pieces of criticism ever conveyed in a *brochure* of little more than a hundred pages. It positively teems with interesting questions of all sorts, and the author's critical treatment is so fair and full that, even where one disagrees with the particular conclusion he prefers, one hardly feels that one has parted company with him. Assuredly we must all sympathize in the joy he expresses (p. 124) at the discovery (for his exploitation of this neglected tract can hardly be regarded as less than a discovery) of the oldest utterance of a Latin speaking Pope, the earliest application to the Pope of the classical texts of Matthew and John that has come down to us.

POSTSCRIPT.—FUNK ON HARNACK.

Since writing the above I have seen a criticism on Harnack by

Dr. Funk, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Tübingen, in an article of some twenty pages.* I must confess that I have read it with something very like dismay. It is entirely hostile to Harnack's theory regarding the "De Aleatoribus," and its scope is to reduce the literary status of that treatise to its original indefiniteness, as the work of some bishop, nobody has any right to guess whom, or where, or indeed when, except that he was probably in the latter half of the third century, anyhow after Cyprian. The effect is as though one should suddenly let down the strings of a violin that was in perfect tune and set to concert pitch. How "flat, dull, stale, and unprofitable" one is tempted to exclaim. Not, of course, that such a counterblast would be unprofitable if only true and just; for, after all, sobriety is pre-eminently the essential requirement of such a critique as Harnack's, and no brilliancy or suggestiveness could compensate for its loss. But I cannot persuade myself that Dr. Funk has treated Harnack fairly. I do not deny that now and again he has made a point, and shown that the latter has sometimes laid too much stress upon minutiae. But on the whole I do not the less agree with Professor Harnack because I have read Dr. Funk. I am not one, alas! whose preference might constitute a claim where such doctors disagree, but none the less I must attempt to justify it.

Funk maintains that there is nothing about the supposed Papal language of chapter i. to make it sound otherwise than natural in the mouth of a bishop of the second or third century. In this view he has the support of what Harnack calls "the cheap and inadequate remark" of Dupin, one of the last authors a Catholic would care to rely on. He further appeals to Möhler ("Patrologie," 847) who only says that it "must remain uncertain if with Bellarmine we are to suppose a Pope the author, *as the Introduction would make us believe*." But it is the Introduction precisely from which Funk will not allow us to draw any such conclusion. Neither can we argue from Möhler's words that he contemplated the possibility of a merely episcopal authorship. If the author is not a Pope he may be an anti-pope, either Hippolytus or Novatian, in whose mouth the Introduction would be quite appropriate. But the issue of this point of the controversy must depend upon what parallels Dr. Funk can produce from merely episcopal utterances to the expressions in the Introduction. He supposes himself to have found them in St. Cyprian. He relies on four passages, all of them noticed by Harnack, who grants (p. 96) that Cyprian might have written in the manner—nay, has written in the manner—not indeed of

* "Historisches Jahrbuch." München. 1889.

chapter i., but of chapters ii. and iv., and might have applied to himself the expression "vice Christi," and did apply to his episcopal office the texts concerning the keys. But when Harnack comes to consider the expressions of chapter i. as a whole, his literary sense prevails, and he exclaims (p. 104), "who would venture to put the words in the mouth of any other bishop but the Roman." With chapter i. in our mind let us cast our eye over the supposed parallels and see how far they go towards establishing the pretension that a simple bishop might appropriately use the language of chapter i. For the passage in the "De Aleatoribus," "In nobis Divina et paterna pietas vicariam Domini sedem dignatione ordinavit," we have St. Cyprian (Ep. 63) "Sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur"—i.e., in offering sacrifice; (Ep. 55) "unus ad tempus sacerdos ad tempus iudex vice Christi," an assertion of the supremacy of the one bishop over the clergy. He claims ("De unitate" 4), for the unity of the episcopate, the texts Matt. xvi. and John xxi., and (Ep. 27), after quoting Matt. xvi., he continues, "Unde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur." He is engaged in this epistle in vindicating ecclesiastical authority against the irregular efforts of certain of the lapsed. There is surely nothing in these passages which tends to put them on a level of pretension with the language of chapter i. as a whole; and even as regards the point of the vicariate, there is at least in the writer of the "De Aleatoribus" a claim to possess *κατ' ἐξοχήν* and in a special manner what may be *in genere* an episcopal endowment.

Funk adopts the sense of "ducatum Apostolatûs" advocated by Harnack, of which we have already said enough. He will not interpret the "originem authenticæ Apostolatûs" with him as meaning the "cathedra Petri," or "Roman Church," to which Cyprian gives the title of "matrix et radix ecclesiæ Catholicæ" (Ep. 45) and "origo unitatis," but in the sense of origination or derivation of an authentic Apostolate from Christ, to which all Bishops had a claim. But what authority can he find for such a use of "origo"? He takes advantage of Harnack's admission that the "nos" in the first chapter is collective, and insists that bishops did not and could not claim a share in the cathedra Petri. Perhaps not, I remark, in the sense in which Harnack would allow them to claim it, but in some sense they assuredly did claim it. St. Optatus ("De Schism. Donat." Lib. ii. c. 9) speaks of the "Cathedra Petri quæ nostra est," and Gildas ("De Excid. Brit." 66) complains of bad bishops as "usurping the seat of the Apostle with unclean feet." But their participation therein was in virtue of and conditioned by their union with its immediate

occupier, as I have explained above. Dr. Funk must really find some fairer instances before he can persuade us that any one who did not at least think himself a Pope wrote the "De Aleatoribus." He makes it a point against Harnack that bishops were not amongst those addressed. But Harnack never says that they were formally addressed, these were of course the "fideles." But it is another question whether the bishops were not spoken at and indirectly exhorted. Nay, Funk himself admits that the following passage from chapter iii., taken literally, implies nothing less than such an exhortation: "Et quoniam episcopi idem spiritum sanctum per impositionem manûs cordis excepmus hospitio, cohabitatori nostro nullam mæstitiam proponamus." Has Dr. Funk never seen a baby talked to for the benefit of bystanders?

He quite ignores the argument for antiquity grounded on the non-appearance of the charge of idolatry in the Canon of the council of Elvira against dicers, although notoriously that Council was exceptionally severe upon idolatry. And he is not deterred by the contrast of discipline from assigning a date to the tract which brings it in close proximity to the Council. He rejects the argument for antiquity drawn from the tripartite form of the Canon suggested in the tract*—viz., Prophets (Scriptura Sacra), Gospels and Epistles, and the implied non-distinction of Old and New Testament. He contends that neither is the distinction between the Old and New Testaments found in Cyprian. But the question is whether the threefold cross division which ignores the distinction occurs in Cyprian. St. Cyprian lays great stress upon the distinction of the Old and New Testaments in the sense of covenants, and the aggregation of their books to each respectively is in possession with him unless it can be shown that in his use of them he submitted them to a cross division. Funk denies the existence of the threefold distinction in the "De Aleatoribus," on the ground that the single mention of "Scriptura Sacra," applied to a book of the Old Testament, does not sufficiently indicate a class, forgetting that it is repeated in the equivalent expression "alia Scriptura" and "iterum." He maintains that the expression "de Scripturis Sanctis" (chapter 3) is meant to include the Pauline Epistles, but there is nothing in the position of the words to show this, and even if it did the phrase does not necessarily obliterate the distinction "Scriptura Divina." It is not, of course, supposed that there ever was a theory that the genuine Pauline Epistles were not inspired; but

* The division is alternately and equivalently twofold or threefold, according as the Prophets and Gospels are assimilated as Scriptura Sacra under the formula "Dicit Dominus," or distinguished by the addition of "in Evangelis" and "per Prophetam."

there was, in fact, an old-fashioned distinction in the way of quoting them, something after the fashion in which Bede is quoted as "Venerable" rather than "Saint," and possibly originating from the same cause—viz., that the author, when first quoted, was living. How far Funk succeeds in reducing the significance of a detail here and there I cannot pretend to say, but I think he certainly fails to do justice to the cumulative force of Harnack's argumentation. In dealing with the arguments for Victor's authorship, he lays stress upon the improbability of the election of one whose education had not lifted him above the use of the vulgar dialect; has he forgotten that some sixty years later the Roman clergy had to write a synodal letter to St. Cyprian in that dialect?

In conclusion he gives, in parallel columns, a passage from Cyprian ("Testimon." iii. 28), already noticed by Harnack, and the rigoristic passage from the "De Aleatoribus," and shows their remarkable resemblance, both as to doctrine and use of texts, and infers that the latter is derived from the former. But the Benedictines have pointed out that the "Libri Testimoniorum" is a mere common-place book, and that it is impossible to say of any particular passage in it that it is St. Cyprian's own. The two passages may well have been derived from a common source.

On the whole, I am inclined to think that Dr. Funk's critique has left Harnack's position very much *in statu quo*. But, however this may be, I cannot do wrong in recommending to the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW two such notable examples of constructive and destructive criticism.

H. I. D. RYDER.



ART. VI.—PROFESSOR GREEN.

Works of Thomas Hill Green, late Fellow of Balliol College and Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. Edited by R. L. NETTLESHIP, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. In three volumes. London: Longman, Green & Co.

I SUPPOSE it is not too much to say that half a dozen years ago the name of Professor Green was hardly known outside Oxford. None of his writings, with the exception of a few articles in the *Contemporary Review* and the *Academy*, and two or three lectures, were published with his name during his lifetime. His working life, suddenly cut short at the age of forty-six, was spent in the comparative seclusion of a College Tutorship and a University Professorship. Now, thanks to his introduction as "Grey of St. Anselm's" into a popular work of fiction, he is a familiar personage to hundreds of thousands of readers in England and America. He has become famous, and a desire has been widely aroused to know more about him. Hence the third volume of his works is happy in the opportunity of its publication. It contains those of his writings which are most likely to interest "the general reader;" and it is prefaced by a complete and admirably written memoir from the pen of his familiar friend, Dr. Nettleship. Such knowledge as "the general reader" is capable of attaining regarding Professor Green, he may derive from this volume. Whether it will be of much service to him may, perhaps, be doubted.

I will explain what I mean. Professor Green was essentially a metaphysician, and to say that, is to say that he can never possibly be widely understood among us. "Fit audience, but few," must be the best the philosopher can hope for, at all events in this country. The English intellect seems to be congenitally unfitted for abstract inquiries. As I ventured to say, writing elsewhere sometime ago, "Kant tells us that a man has reason and understanding: reason seems to have almost departed from the British mind since the overthrow among us of the Aristotelian philosophy by Hobbes and Locke." The fact that Mr. Herbert Spencer is *the* philosopher in England and America, is a singularly emphatic testimony to the absence of so much as an elementary notion in the popular mind of what philosophy really is. Otherwise it would be impossible that a mere system of speculative physics, such as Mr. Spencer's, could be unsuspectingly accepted in its place. It is pretty safe then to assert that Professor Green will continue to be little more than Grey of St. Anselm's to the great majority of those whose curiosity or

desire for information—I do not say knowledge—leads them to attempt the perusal of even the easiest portions of his writings. The serious students of philosophy, indeed, who exist among us, will find the three volumes of his works in the highest degree interesting and important, as a contribution to a phase of speculation which has deeply influenced some of the best and most thoughtful minds of the generation of Englishmen upon whom the burden and heat of life's day is now falling. To such students I shall address myself in what I am about to write. And here I will set down precisely what it is which I propose to do in this article. If any one supposes that I am about critically to examine Professor Green's system of moral, political, and religious philosophy, he is very much mistaken. To do that, in any adequate way, would require at least four* volumes as large as those in which it is contained. My aim will be to expound, not to judge. And, indeed, for the well-instructed Catholic student this should be sufficient. Cardinal Newman has well observed in one of his Oxford University sermons: "When men understand what each other mean, they see for the most part that controversy is either superfluous or hopeless." My present object, then, is this—to give in brief, but as I trust clear, outlines, an account of the principal positions of Professor Green's philosophy. And I shall do so, as far as possible, in his own words, or in the words of Dr. Nettleship's excellent study. But it may be as well to preface this by a short sketch of the Professor and his life. A man's philosophy is a manifestation of his personality, and to know something of other manifestations, is often helpful towards our understanding it. Let us then, taking Dr. Nettleship as our guide, see what manner of man Professor Green was.

Thomas Hill Green was born in 1836 at Birkin, a village in Yorkshire, of which his father was the Rector; a man described as eloquent in speech, kindly and philanthropic in action, "of deep religious feeling, unencumbered with dogmatic learning," and prevented—so his son affirmed—by "the union of magnanimity, indolence, and a bad digestion," from making the best of himself. Thomas was not a precocious boy; he was slow in acquiring knowledge, and learnt by heart with difficulty. At Rugby, whither he was sent at the age of fourteen, "though he never fell below a fair level, he seldom gained great distinction. . . . He never became a thorough schoolboy, either of the athletic or of the intellectual type. . . . He had not the interest either in language or in learning which makes a great scholar, but he had a genuine literary sense, and his power of expression

* The "*Prolegomena to Ethics*" is the fourth volume.

was above the average." He was one of the recognized politicians of the school, and was considered "a dreadful Radical"; and he displayed "a constitutional antipathy to Popery and everything that savoured of it." He displayed also "much independence of mind," and a fellow-schoolboy describes him as "one in whose presence no one in the house would have found it possible to use a bad word or tell a ribald story : a water-drinker in those days, when he was probably the only one of four hundred to be so ; never known to say an unkind word or do an unkind deed to any other boy in the school ; going out, even then, on Sunday afternoons in the fields by himself, and not ashamed, when he was laughed at about it, to silence us by saying, with a smile, that he could worship God best in the green fields by himself." In 1855 he entered at Balliol College, where the influence of his tutor, Mr. Jowett, stimulated him to hard work, and in the summer of 1859 he gained a first class in the school of *literæ humaniores*, impressing the examiners as the ablest among several able candidates. In 1860 he was elected a Fellow of Balliol. His friendship with Mr. Jowett was never interrupted or dimmed. "The more I see of him," he writes years afterwards, "the more I am convinced of his remarkable goodness and genius." Another highly valued friend of his was the late Mr. Conington, Professor of Latin in the University, with whom he spent part of his first four long vacations, at Keswick, Freshwater, Bidford, and Whitby successively. Dr. Nettleship tells us : "The country was to Green a source of many-sided enjoyment. Walking was his favourite exercise, and though he was not an adventurous mountaineer, nothing heightened his vitality so surely as mountain air. His topographical sense, moreover, was unusually strong. One of his first steps in a new place was to master its geography, and he took as much pleasure in finding a good route as other people do in finding a cheap one. A deeper source of enjoyment lay in his love of country people. He seemed to feel himself at home with them at once, and seized without effort the political and economical features of their life. 'What he most enjoyed in scenery,' says a friend who travelled much with him, 'was an upland prospect with some breadth of cultivated land. Those who have ever heard it will remember the peculiar smack of his utterance of the word *tilth*.' It was this interest in the country, as the meeting-point of man with nature, that specially attracted him to Wordsworth, and made him speak of the "Ode to Duty" as the 'high-water mark of modern poetry.' Nature appealed to his imagination, not as it has done to some men, as a miracle of form and colour, inviting and defying reproduction ; nor, as it has done to others, as an elemental force in whose presence man finds peace by escaping from him-

self; but rather as the sympathetic background to human life, and the kindred revelation of a divine intelligence." To this let us add the following account of the impression produced by him by a very competent observer, who was one of his fellow-students :

His appearance was striking in those days, and made him a familiar figure even to those who did not know him personally. Thick black hair, dark eyebrows, eyes of rich brown, with a peculiarly steadfast look, were the features which first struck one; and with these there was a remarkable seriousness of expression, an air of solidity and quiet strength. He knew comparatively few people, and of these only a very few intimately, having no taste for those sports in which University acquaintances are most frequently made, and seldom appearing at breakfasts or wine parties. This caused him to pass for unsocial; and I remember having felt a slight sense of awe or alarm the first time I found myself seated beside him. But as one came to know him better, one quickly perceived that under his reserve there lay not only a great capacity for affection—no man was more tenacious of his friendships—but qualities that made him a delightful companion. His tendency to solitude sprang not from pride, but from the occupation of his mind by subjects which seldom weigh on men of his age. He had, even when a boy at school, been grappling with the problems of metaphysics and theology, and they had given a tinge of gravity to his manner. The relief to that gravity lay in his humour, which was not only abundant but genial and sympathetic. It used to remind us of Carlyle, but in him it was more kindly, and, above all, more lenient to ordinary people. While averse, perhaps too severely averse, from whatever was luxurious or frivolous in undergraduate life, he had the warmest interest in, and the strongest sympathy for, the humbler classes. No man had a truer love for social equality, or a higher sense of the dignity of simple human nature. He liked to meet farmers and tradespeople on their own level, and knew how to do so without seeming to condescend. The belief in the duty of approaching people directly, and getting them to form and express their own views, was at the root of all his political doctrines. Though apt to be silent in general company, no one could be more agreeable when you were alone with him. We used to say of him—and his seniors said the same—that you never talked to him without carrying away something to remember and ponder over. On everything he said or wrote there was stamped the impress of a forcible individuality, a mind that thought for itself, and whose thoughts had the rugged strength of an original character, wherein grimness was mingled with humour, and practical shrewdness with a love for abstract speculation. His independence appeared even in the way he pursued his studies. With abilities of the highest order, he cared comparatively little for the distinctions which the University offers, choosing rather to follow out his own line of reading in the way he judged most permanently useful, than to devote himself to the pursuit of honours and prizes.*

* Vol. iii. *Memoir*, p. xviii.

Such was Thomas Hill Green when he began to teach in Oxford, where Mr. Jowett exerted himself successfully to keep him. Even before his election as Fellow of Balliol he had been asked to lecture in the college on history. In 1861 he lectured on the Greek Testament, and in 1863 we find him expounding the Nichomachean Ethics. After some hesitation as to his career in life—in 1863 he was offered the editorship of the Bombay newspaper, the *Times of India*, and declined it—he resolved to devote himself to academical work, having come more and more to feel that this was his vocation. In 1864 he tried unsuccessfully for the Chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews. In the same year he was appointed an Assistant Commissioner to inquire into the education given in English "Grammar Schools": and to the discharge of the duties of this office his next three years were chiefly given. In 1867 he finally settled down to the work of College Tutor at Balliol, which occupied the largest continuous portion of his life. The election of Mr. Jowett to the Mastership in 1870 caused the whole of the subordinate management of the college practically to devolve on him.' He was then only thirty-four, and was "probably the first layman who had held the office of Tutor."

The functions of an Oxford tutor at this time, as they appear on paper [writes Dr. Nettleship] were to deliver a certain number of lectures, and to see a certain number of pupils once or twice a week, looking over their exercises, and otherwise helping them in their work for the examinations of the University. But behind these definite and narrow duties extended a general responsibility for their welfare, which would be differently interpreted according to the character of the individual and the prevailing tone of his college. So that, as a matter of fact, the relation of a tutor to his pupils might vary from that of a teacher of grammar and composition to that of an elder friend and general guide in the work of preparation for life. When Green entered on his tutorship at Balliol, the traditions of the office were tolerably fixed, and fixed at a comparatively high level. As a student he had worked under men of exceptional abilities and attainments, who, while holding strong and discordant theological opinions, had been united by common loyalty to the higher interests of their college; and in his own tutor in particular he had experienced what "goodness and genius" combined can do for pupils of the most varied character and social position. The qualifications which he himself brought to the work, did not lie upon the surface. He lacked the easy geniality, the high spirits, the striking accomplishments, which go so far to attract the English youth. He neither dazzled nor charmed. And his want of sympathy with many of the dominant characteristics of the great public schools tended to put a gap between him and a large proportion of the students with whom he had to do. But these drawbacks, which would have been fatal to mediocrity, disappeared before the

native power and worth of his mind and character, and came in the end to give a sort of point and flavour to the very qualities which at first they had helped to disguise. Balliol was a college composed of very mixed elements; it contained rich men and poor men, men from large schools and from small, English and Scotch, Anglicans and Non-conformists, pleasure-seekers and hard workers; and to such a society the new tutor offered many and various "angles of incidence." To a few he was an object of personal affection, to others of distant admiration, to others again of good-natured amusement; no one despised him, and though he was an uncompromising upholder of discipline, few, if any, disliked him. To many men in the college he was for a long time barely known by sight, for he lived much alone and entertained little. It was considered quite an event when in 1868 he invited two undergraduates to spend part of the Christmas vacation with him in the Isle of Wight. But from that time onwards he became more accessible and expansive, and seldom passed a year without having some companions with him in the long vacation. On these occasions his frankness and humour always made a genial atmosphere, and he enjoyed, though he seldom originated, the fun which such parties develop. He did not make many intimate friends, but those with whom natural affinity or special circumstances brought him into close relations, never forgot what they owed to him. Some, perhaps, wished that he had been less reserved; to some his candour might seem to border upon hardness; some felt their weaknesses unduly rebuked in his presence; but all knew that if he was severe to others, he was more severe to himself, and that, whatever advice he gave, it was sure to be on the side of their own better natures.*

What was the secret of his influence? Dr. Nettleship shall answer this question for us:

The power which his teaching exercised upon others was the reflection of the power which he himself derived from what he taught. Philosophy was to him the medium in which the theoretic impulse, the impulse to see and feel things more clearly and intensely than everyday life allows, found its most congenial satisfaction. The strength, the repose, the mental purgation which come to some men through artistic imagination or religious emotion, came to him through thinking . . . while his own best moments were those in which the reason of the world most came home to him, he was far from wishing to drive every one into speculation, or to disturb the satisfaction which others might attain through different modes of activity. Nor could any one be more painfully conscious how little direct result can be expected from the study or teaching of philosophy. Starting with the accepted commonplace that this is a speculative age, he held that if there is to be theorizing at all, it should be done thoroughly; but the notion that he or any thinker held in his hands a panacea for the ills of England, was of all the most abhorrent to him. Of the

* Vol. iii. *Memoir*, pp. lxiii.-lxvi.

propagandist spirit, indeed, he had too little rather than too much. 'In his lectures it was conspicuously absent, and in his private work with his pupils it was hardly less so. He had neither the versatility which naturally adapts itself to various minds, nor the educational ardour which can be all things to all men in order to gain some. He often allowed those who had brought essays to him to go away with a sense that he was equally dissatisfied both with what they had written and with his own attempts to improve it. It was only men who were gifted with a certain intellectual impetuosity and aggressiveness who could draw much from him in conversation, and his very disinclination to dominate or grapple with minds which were out of harmony with his own made him ready, sometimes too ready, to acquiesce in the appearance of intellectual appreciation. Not that he ever had, or cared to have, a chorus of disciples. Upon the majority of his hearers the impression which he produced was probably little more than that he was in earnest with what he said, and that it referred to matters which he considered interesting and important. With those to whom personal experience had made a reality of some religious, political, or scientific problem, it was different. He might rouse them to antagonism by his criticisms of their cherished doctrines, or furnish them with what seemed a solution of their perplexities. The latter was most likely to be the case with men who, having in them some strain of idealism, had found a difficulty in adjusting their lines to it; men in whom Radicalism was seeking for a meeting-point with loyalty, or whose acceptance of a moral principle or a religious idea was crossed by a half-understood scientific theory or a half-disguised selfish impulse. Such men were naturally attracted by one who saw in a law-abiding community the realization of true freedom, and in the simplest utterances of faith the deepest truths of reason, and who believed physical law to be an expression of the same intelligence as the forms of thought and the principles of morality. To the dangers incident to any such constructive view his own analytical power and his practical hold on life supplied the antidote; but in minds where these were deficient his spirit of comprehension was liable to degenerate into a spirit of accommodation, and his fusion of false antitheses to reappear as the confusion of true. Nor were there wanting other symptoms that usually attend the fermentation of new and potent ideas. There are a few in every generation of men at the University to whom contact with a real thinker is like a new experience. That which for want of a better name we must call the speculative impulse, a thing in its nature as distinct, analysable, and incommunicable as the passion for goodness or for beauty, was in Green so fused with the rest of his personality that ordinary observers hardly felt the edge of it; but when it touched minds of the same temper, it struck fire. The enthusiasm so kindled was not for any definite project or idea, nor had the eight or ten men whom it brought together the design of propagating any particular doctrines of their master. A not unkindly wit named them "a society for looking at things as a whole," and perhaps the chief bond between them was a common intolerance of superficiality. If they had been asked what they believed in, they

could only have answered "in philosophy"; but the belief was not the less real because it was vague, and its gradual diffusion put a new life and seriousness into much of the teaching at Oxford.

Such was Thomas Hill Green as Tutor of Balliol. In 1878 he was elected to the Whyte Professorship of Moral Philosophy. This appointment coincided with a marked failure in his health. From insomnia he had long suffered, he now became subject to fits of giddiness, and other symptoms of congenital disease of the heart began to show themselves. The feeling seems to have come upon him that (in his own words) he must now make a push: otherwise he should leave the world with nothing done. He set himself to the composition of a work which should express his fundamental views on the subjects with which he was specially concerned as Professor. His "*Prolegomena to Ethics*" was almost finished, when in March 1882 he was taken suddenly ill. At the end of a week dangerous symptoms of blood-poisoning appeared, and on the night of the 25th he was told that he could not live more than a few hours. Though he had often expressed a shrinking from death, and the announcement took him by surprise, he received it without any disquietude, and at once began to think of the various things that had to be done, such as the payment of pupil teachers in a school of which he was treasurer, and the publication of his book. He spoke to those about him of his belief in God and immortality, adding in a characteristic way that he did not know what the life beyond might be, "if we did, we would walk by sight, not by faith." He asked to have the eighth chapter of the *Epistle to the Romans* read to him, but found the effort of listening too great. He said he should like to be buried in the Jericho Cemetery, "in the North Ward." As the night went on his mind began to wander; he talked about current politics, the Irish Land Bill, and affairs in Bulgaria; and at nine o'clock on the morning of Sunday, March 26, he passed quietly away. The University and the city—in the municipal life of which he had taken part as a Town Councillor—joined hands to mourn his loss and honour his memory. "We shall never know a nobler man," wrote one of his friends on hearing of his death. "With this simple expression of what many feel," adds Dr. Nettleship, "we may take leave of him."

Let us now consider his teaching. Besides his "*Prolegomena to Ethics*," he has left behind him the writings included in the three volumes edited by Dr. Nettleship. Of these the most considerable are his elaborate expositions of the metaphysical and moral system of Hume and its affiliation to that of Locke—his two principal pieces of philosophical criticism: his examination of contemporary English psychology, as represented by Mr.

Herbert Spencer and Mr. G. H. Lewes : his lectures on Kant, on Logic, and on the Principles of Political Obligation. These fill the first two volumes of his works. The third and last volume contains Dr. Nettleship's Memoir, a number of short essays and reviews, two lay sermons, and some eight or ten lectures on different subjects. I shall from these materials briefly indicate the main lines of his teaching.

The fundamental position of his philosophy is the idea of a free personality, exercising its freedom under conditions which it has itself created. This idea, Dr. Nettleship tells us, formed the meeting-point of his political and religious aspirations. In the light of it he interpreted to himself the problems of history, of morality, of theology. In the approximation to it he saw political and moral progress; and in the eternal realization of it the life of God. He regards the energy of reason as "the ultimate and undervivable reality." Thus did he account of the world as "*Kosmos*"; by which he meant—as a recent German writer has expressed it—"die als Zweckvoll gedachte *universitas rerum*." I shall here borrow Dr. Nettleship's words—unfortunately I must abridge them—to give an account of his metaphysical principles.

The central conception is that the universe is a single eternal activity or energy, of which it is the essence to be self-conscious—that is, to be itself and not itself in one. Of this activity, "self-distinguishing and self-seeking," every particular existence is a limited manifestation, and, among other such existences, those which we call "ourselves." In so far as there is a "we" at all, and a world which can be called "ours," it is because the self which is the unity of the world is "communicated" under the particular conditions of our physical organization. It is this fact—the fact of a self-conditioned or free energy, acting under limiting conditions, which makes our experience a continual self-contradiction between what we are and what we have it in us to be. To the consciousness of this contradiction—that is, to our partial self-consciousness, is due the impulse both to knowledge and to goodness; and the contradiction is overcome in proportion as we think what is true and will what is unselfish. The conception of self-consciousness as the ultimate reality, is one to which we are led by reflection upon our experience, or, in other words, by asking ourselves what we mean by a fact. It makes no difference whether fact be taken in the minimum or the maximum of its meaning, whether as the simplest possible fact, expressible as merely "something," or as the highly complex facts covered by such words as "science," "art," "morality," or as the all-inclusive fact which we call "the world." At whatever point it is considered, it is found to consist in relationship or relationships. That which is simply itself is nothing; the reality of everything lies in its pointing beyond itself to something else; in other words, the real is always something which is itself and not itself in one, a unity in differ-

ence or differentiated unity. The simplest fact which can be a beginning of knowledge, is "not a feeling, but an explanation of a feeling, which connects it by relations, that are not feelings, with an unfelt universe." Thus "no fact can be even partially known without compelling an inference to the unknown," and, "while it is true in a sense that in inference we do not go beyond experience, it is so only because in experience we already go beyond sense." Self-consciousness, then—*i.e.*, consciousness of system or relationship, one in many, identical in difference—is the condition of our having experience. But this consciousness only becomes ours piecemeal and by slow degrees, and it never becomes ours completely. So that while it is true that, so far as there is a world or unity of things for us at all, it is because we are potentially the consciousness which has the universe for its object, it is also true that we never get beyond the potentiality; our idea of system remains only an idea, a broken outline which gives such form as it has to all our experience, but which continually recedes as our experience fills it up. It is consciousness in this sense, partial and intermittent, that is rightly contrasted as "merely ours," or "subjective," with an "objective world"; only it must be remembered that the objective world is not some unknown opposite of consciousness, but the ideal completion of that world of which we are already incompletely conscious, and that it is only the presence in us of a self not in this sense "subjective," that makes possible the consciousness of such a world, and of our own subjectivity. What we call "our" minds are events beginning with birth and ending with death, each again broken up into other events, or mental states, into and out of which we are perpetually passing. When "our consciousness" is spoken of, it is usually the transitions into these successive states which are thought of, while the contents or objects of the states themselves are supposed to be something outside or independent of consciousness. Whereas, the truth is that a consciousness which was merely a series of transitions, of beginnings and endings, would be consciousness of nothing, and that the fact of transition itself can only be a fact to a consciousness which is not itself a transition. The parts or constituents of an object of consciousness are not before or after one another; there is an order of time in which they "enter consciousness," but there is no such order in them "as in consciousness." . . . To characterize our consciousness as a concession of states is to characterize it rather by what it is not than by what it is, for just so far as it is merely "here" and "there," "now" and "then," it is not truly ours at all. The limitations which make our consciousness subjective in the above sense, arise from the fact that we are "feeling" as well as "thinking" beings, or (what is the same thing) that we not only have experience of a world, but are ourselves part of that world. The distinction between feeling and thought is not indeed an absolute one. Mere feeling, in the sense of that which is felt by no subject and is the feeling of no object, is not a possible element in experience; as soon as it is felt as a fact, it is already a consciousness of relation—*i.e.*, thought. On the other hand, the first form in which we become self-conscious, the first channel

through which the consciousness of a world is communicated to us, is the consciousness of some bodily change—*i.e.*, feeling. In proportion as the communication becomes fuller, the limitations incident to its earliest forms are more and more removed, experience becomes independent of time and place, thought takes the place of feeling. But the limitations are never wholly removed. The animal organization, in virtue of which we are parts of nature, conditions our knowledge of nature to the end. We partly understand time and space, but we partly are in them, and in so far as we are in them we do not understand them; they have us, not we them. Thus, it is true in a sense to say that sensation is the test of truth in our experience of the natural world. Belief in the reality of a natural phenomenon means belief that under certain conditions a certain feeling will occur; and it is by trying whether it does so occur that we test the truth of our belief. But it is not to be supposed "that any particular reality first comes into being on the occurrence of my feeling"; what is "tested" by the feeling is not reality, but the adequacy of my conception of it. "The conceived fact, the reality, that such a sensation occurs under such conditions, is unaffected by the circumstance that the sensation is not now occurring. Sensation vanishes, but not the fact that it has occurred under certain conditions, and this is its reality." In a "crucial experiment" a single experience is enough to communicate the fact, and the fact once is always a fact to the experimenter. To a being whose experience was wholly of this crucial character—*i.e.*, to a perfectly intelligent being, "the difference between an actual event in the way of sensation, and the possibility of such an event—*i.e.*, a true and adequate conception would not exist." But in most cases repeated sensations are needed to enable us to be sure under what conditions the sensation occurs, as well as to enable us to recover those conditions when the sensation is over. Thinking is the activity by which we free ourselves from these limitations, and realize facts independently of the circumstances under which they come into consciousness. To imagine, indeed, that we can ever be wholly free is "the frenzy of philosophy"; it must remain true that to every man all nature but a little is "expunged and void," and that the little that remains to him is different from what it is to every one else. But each fresh step in understanding the world is a step in the liberation of self. In proportion as the supposed isolation and mutual exclusiveness of objects and events gives way before the growing discovery of the uniformity of nature, the false individuality of the self is fused in a common intelligence, and mind meets mind in a medium of truth, which is the essence of all but the property of none. The true objectivity of things is seen to lie, not in being outside the mind, which could only mean that they were no objects at all, nor in their materiality or existence in space and time, which is only one and the most elementary of the differences, of which self is the identity, but in the indissoluble unity of system, which makes everything a "retainer to" something else and ultimately to the whole. On the other hand, the true individuality of the self comes to be understood, not as the imperviousness and incommunicable-

ness of momentary feeling, but as the energy, at once self-contained and self-communicating, which "spreads undivided" in knowledge, and "operates unspent" in love.*

Professor Green's religious views were very closely connected with his philosophical opinions. The bond between them lay in his conception of reason or self-consciousness, which he regards as like the source of faith and of knowledge, and of which Love is the consummation. "In love the activity which begins in mere sense of self and something else, reaches the point at which absolute self-satisfaction and absolute self-surrender are one and the same thing. We may best conceive of God as such a completed self-consciousness, a being of perfect understanding and perfect love, whose life is an eternal act of self-realization through self-sacrifice. The essence of Christianity lies in the fact that it has expressed more articulately and enforced more practically than any other religion this conception of the Divine nature. In the New Testament God is described as loving the world, as dying for it, and as living again in it, and these acts are represented not merely as events which took place once and were over, but also as an eternal life in which every man may partake if he will, and apart from which he is spiritually dead. In the latter mode of representation, as Green conceived, lies the permanent truth of Christianity, and to realize this truth for himself and others was the object of all his thinking about religion."† Thinking thus, Professor Green naturally made small account of the phenomenal aspects of Christianity. Beside the evolution of his idea they were to him as the small dust of the balance. Every line in his writings on religion takes for granted that "historical Christianity"—the objective worth of the Gospels—is hopelessly discredited. He is by way of supplying its place with "the religion of the Spirit." He distinguishes between faith and "the dogmas upon which it supposes itself founded." By dogma he means "propositions representing neither demonstrable truths of science nor ultimate conditions necessary to the possibility of experience and knowledge, nor formative ideas of reason, nor imperatives of morality, but either miraculous transactions or deductions from and explanations of those supposed transactions."‡ Of all this he holds faith to be quite independent. By faith he understands "a prevailing conviction of our presence to God and His to us, of His gracious mind towards us, working in and with and through us, of our duty to our fellow-men as our brethren in Him, which has been the source of whatever has been best in us and in our deeds."§

* Vol. iii. *Memoir*, pp. lxxv.-lxxx.

† Vol. iii. p. 263.

‡ *Ibid.* p. xciii.

§ *Ibid.* p. 258.

He adds : " The more strongly we insist that faith is a personal and conscious relation of the man to God, forming the principle of a new life, not perhaps observable by others, but which the man's own conscience recognizes, the more awkward becomes its dependence on events believed to have happened in the past. The evidence for their having happened may be exceedingly cogent, but at any rate the appreciation of it depends on processes of reasoning which it would be a moral paradox to deny that a man may perform correctly without being the better, and incorrectly without being the worse. It has often been asked whether we can seriously suppose a man to be condemned in the sight of God for misunderstanding a proposition in divinity ; and though the question may have been irreverently put, there can be but one answer to it. It is not on any estimate of evidence, correct or incorrect, that our true holiness can depend. Neither if we believe certain documents to be genuine and authentic can we be the better, nor, if we believe it not, the worse. There is thus an inner contradiction in that conception of faith which makes it a state of mind involving peace with God and love towards all men, and at the same time makes its object that historical work of Christ of which our knowledge depends on evidence of uncertain origin and value."* Professor Green was well aware that to most this "exposition" of his would be *aliud Evangelium quod non est aliud*. "A God who made us and knows us, as from without ; a Christ who at a certain time did certain miraculous acts on our behalf, and who now, having left us certain commands, is at the right hand of God exalted, to return again at some future time and judge us according to our obedience to His commands—these, it may be said, are intelligible objects. There are strong grounds for believing in them, and as believed in they influence our actions through fear and hope and gratitude. But an immanent God, a God present in the believing love of Him and the brethren, a Christ within us, a continuous resurrection—these are mere thoughts of our own ; they are not 'objective,' if there is nothing else to constrain and restrain us, we are left to ourselves."† Professor Green's rejoinder to these objections is on this wise : " The faith or belief which is the essence of all real religion, which religious people represent as constituting the highest spiritual life, and which even those who do not themselves experience it cannot, if they are honest, help regarding with reverence, is absolutely independent of anything that can be called historical evidence. It is a certain disposition of a man's mind or character, consisting in the consciousness of his

* Ibid. p. 260.

† Ibid. p. 243.

potential unity with God, and issuing in the effort to realize this unity in his life. It neither requires nor admits any external proof, for to the man who has it, the certainty of God is inseparable from the certainty of himself. Any attempt to derive or account for it from antecedent events is necessarily fallacious, for it will always be found that the events from which it is derived owe their spiritual conclusiveness to the consciousness of the person who appeals to them; it is because his consciousness is already faith that the events are accepted and interpreted by him as evidences of his faith. Nevertheless, it is true that the majority of persons calling themselves Christians believe their Christianity to depend upon the acceptance of statements purporting to record certain past events, in particular the miraculous birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus. So far, indeed, as such persons have really appropriated the essence of Christianity, they are better than their own theory; the object of their belief, whatever they may say, is not any past event, but God present and working in them.”*

Professor Green's political philosophy, like the rest of his philosophy, starts from reason or self-consciousness. He introduces his lectures on the principles of political obligations, with the statement that his purpose is “to consider the moral function or object served by law, and in so doing to discover the true ground or justification for obedience to the law.”† “The condition of a moral life is the possession of will and reason.” “All moral ideas have their origin in reason—i.e., in the idea of a possible self-perfection to be obtained by the moral agent.” “The value of the institutions of civil life lies in their operation as giving reality to these capacities of will and reason, and enabling them to be really exercised. In their general effect, apart from particular aberrations, they render it possible for a man to be freely determined by the idea of a possible satisfaction of himself, instead of being driven this way and that by external forces, and thus they give reality to the capacity called will: and they enable him to realize his reason—i.e., his idea of self-perfection—by acting as a member of a social organization in which each contributes to the better-being of all the rest. So far as they do in fact thus operate, they are morally justified, and may be said to correspond to the ‘law of nature,’ the *jus naturæ*, according to the only sense in which that phrase can be intelligibly used.”‡ “The point in view,” writes Dr. Nettleship, “from which he regards political society throughout, is as a product, the most conspicuous product, of self-consciousness. The essential feature in it, as compared with other products, is that the identity in

* Ibid. Memoir, p. xevii.

† Vol. ii. p. 335.

‡ Vol. ii. pp. 335-9.

difference, which all self-consciousness implies, is here an identity of personal life. The 'other,' of which each individual is conscious in belonging to a society, is other selves or persons, beings from whom he distinguishes himself, but whom also he recognizes as in some sense the likes and equals of himself, and from whom he expects a similar recognition. It is this reciprocal recognition which constitutes a 'right.' Rights only belong to a being capable of conceiving a good or interest as the same for himself and for others, and of acting for it, and conversely any being capable of such conception and actions is (in the moral sense of the word) a 'person' and a proper subject of rights. No power ought to be a right—*i.e.*, secured to the individual by society, unless it directly or indirectly furthers the exercise of this capacity, and every power which is necessary to such exercise ought to be a right. The ultimate justification of all rights, then, is that they serve a moral end, in the sense that the powers secured in them are essential to the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being—*i.e.*, as a being who in living for himself lives for other selves."*

So much must suffice to present to the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW, such an account of Professor Green and his doctrines as my limits permit. As I said at the beginning, I am writing, not as a critic, but as an exponent. The detailed examination and estimate of these doctrines would furnish an interesting occupation to any Catholic philosopher possessed of the necessary leisure. For myself, I will end what I have at present to say, by a few remarks on the sources whence they are derived. Professor Green was not extensively read in philosophy. I believe I am right in saying that of the Catholic schools there is no mention in the volumes before me. Of the great Oriental metaphysicians, whose influence over the later developments of modern thought is so considerable, he appears to have been absolutely ignorant. His masters were Kant, Hegel, Fichte, and Lotze among the Germans, and Plato and Aristotle among the Greeks. The Kantian doctrine was his starting-point. And, as a suggestive paper in the third volume of his works shows, his own views on that doctrine exactly corresponded with the interpretation of it given in Professor Edward Caird's well-known and deservedly esteemed work. This is as much as to say that he was a Kantian Hegel, or a Hegelian Kantian. Kant's idealism he regarded as irrefragable truth. But that philosopher's own development of it he accounted incomplete, owing to Kant's partial retention, after all he had shown of the action of thought in the constitution of

* Vol. iii. Memoir, p. cxl.

experience, of the antithesis between the world of experience and the world of ideas inherited from Leibnitz. "To this incompleteness," Professor Green observes, "is to be ascribed what is most readily and reasonably objected to in the 'Æsthetic'—its separation of pure from empirical intuition. This part of Kant's system had been worked out before the inquiry, represented by the 'Analytic,' was entered upon, and it thus allowed to intuition as such what, according to the 'Analytic,' could only belong to intuition as determined by understanding. Hence it treats as two kinds of intuition alike given to the understanding, what should rather be treated, from the point of view reached in the 'Analytic,' as two stages in that operation of the understanding which is necessary to constitute any intuition or perception whatever. In like manner the exhibition in the 'Dialectic' of the impotency of thought in dealing with such objects as the soul, the Kosmos, and God, turns on the retention of certain absolute antitheses—between things as we know them under relations and unrelated things in themselves, between the form and matter of thought, between idea and reality—which give way before the application of the principles admitted in the analysis of experience."* From Kant, Professor Green went on to Hegel, with whose fundamental position he heartily agreed; although he took exception to his method, on the ground apparently that in it thought is an abstraction abstracted from nothing, as would seem to appear from the following passage: "The nature of that thought, which Hegel declares to be the reality of things, is to be ascertained, if at all, from analogies of the objective world, not from reflection on those processes of our intelligence which really presuppose that world. To say that it is the *prius* of things is, after all, only relatively true. It is true, as a correction of the assertion that things are the *prius* of thought, but may in turn become as misleading as the assertion of which it is the corrective. What Hegel had to teach was, not that thought is the *prius* of things, but that thought *is* things and things *are* thought."† "We suspect that all along Hegel's method has stood in the way of an acceptance of his conclusion, because he, at any rate, seemed to arrive at his conclusion as to the spirituality of the world, not by interrogating the world, but by interrogating his own thoughts. A well-grounded conviction has made men refuse to believe that any dialectic of the discursive intelligence would instruct them in the reality of the world, or that this reality could consist in thought in any sense in which thought can be identified with such an intellectual process. It may not, indeed, have been of the essence of Hegel, but an accident explicable

* Vol. iii. p. 137.

† Vol. iii. p. 144.

from his philosophical antecedents, that his doctrine was presented in a form which affronted this conviction. That there is one spiritual self-conscious being, of which all that is real is the activity or expression; that we are related to this spiritual being, not merely as parts of the world which is its expression, but as partakers in some inchoate measure of the self-consciousness through which it at once constitutes and distinguishes itself from the world; that this participation is the source of morality and religion; this we take to be the vital truth which Hegel had to teach." * Students of Lotze will probably discern in this passage traces of his influence. The essay from which it is taken was written indeed while he was engaged in company with some of his friends and pupils on a translation of that philosopher's "*Logik und Metaphysik*," which was published in 1884.

Let me, before I put these volumes aside, exhibit how Professor Green understood idealism. For him it meant, "not the admission of an ideal world of guess and aspiration alongside of the empirical, but the recognition of the empirical itself as ideal, trusting, not to a guess about what is beyond experience, but to analysis of what is within it." † And in an admirable criticism of Mr. Herbert Spencer's teaching regarding subject and object he observes as follows:—

Mr. Spencer understands by "idealism" what a raw undergraduate understands by it. It means to him a doctrine that "there is no such thing as matter," or that "the external world is merely the creation of our own minds"—a doctrine expressly rejected by Kant, and which has had no place since his time in any idealism that knows what it is about. . . . To a well-instructed idealist all knowing and all that is known, all intelligence and intelligible reality, indifferently consist in a relation between subject and object. The generic element in his definition of the knowable universe is that it is such a relation. The value of this elementary definition, he is well aware, depends on its further differentiation; but he holds it to be the first step in any account that is to be true of the world, as a whole or in its real concreteness, in distinction from the accounts of its parts rendered by the several more or less abstract sciences. Neither of the two correlata, in his view, has any reality apart from the other. Every determination of the one implies a corresponding determination of the other. The object, for instance, may be known, under one of the manifold relations which it involves, as matter; but it is only so known in virtue of what may indifferently be called a constructive act on the part of the subject, or a manifestation of itself on the part of the object. The subject in virtue of the act, the object in virtue of the manifestation, are alike, and in strict correlativity so far determined. Of what would otherwise be unknown, it can now be said either that it appears as

* Vol. iii. p. 146.

† Vol. ii. pp. 179, 449.

matter, or that it is that to which matter appears. The reality is just this appearance, as one mode of the relation between subject and object. Neither is the matter anything without the appearance, nor is that to which it appears anything without the appearance to it. The reality of matter, then, as of anything else that is known, is just as little merely objective as merely subjective; while the reality of "mind," if by that is meant the "connected phenomena of conscious life," is not a whit more subjective than objective. "Matter," in being known, becomes a relation between subject and object; "mind," in being known, becomes so equally. It follows that it is incorrect to speak of the relation between "matter and mind"—"mind" being understood as above—as if it were the same with that between subject and object. A mode of the latter relation constitutes each member alike of the former relation. The "phenomena of matter," the "phenomena of consciousness," the connection between the two sets of phenomena, equally belong to an objective world, of which the objectivity is only possible for a subject. Nor is it to the purpose to say that, though matter, *as known*, involves the relation of subject and object, matter *in itself* does not. We need not inquire for the present into the meaning of "matter in itself." The matter which is in question, when we speak of a relation between matter and mind as equivalent to that between object and subject, is not "matter in itself," but matter as a "phenomenon," or as known; and since, in this sense, it is a certain sort of relation between object and subject, it may not be identified with one member of that relation to the exclusion of the other."*

And now I have said all that I had intended to say about Professor Green and his philosophy. As I observed in the beginning of this paper, it appears to me that for well-instructed Catholic students a mere exposition should suffice. Their instruction should supply them with the necessary materials for forming a sound judgment upon the Professor's speculations. But the editor of this Review reminds me that ill-instructed Catholic students also have a claim upon our consideration. I do not know whether such students are numerous. But in deference to him I will add for their benefit a few elementary criticisms.

First, then, I would observe that the manner in which Professor Green has criticized Hegel and Lotze may well be called in question, and most certainly will not content the disciples of either of those philosophers. Hegel's "Thought" or "Idea" is not commonly held to be self-conscious; but the union, in a higher synthesis, of what we know as mind with what we know as matter; of the conscious with the unconscious in a "centre of indifference or identity," which Lotze is very far from admit-

* Vol. i. p. 385.

ting in any like sense with the modern Heraclitus. But to leave this, and to touch upon what is of far nearer interest to the Catholic student, I may remark that the weakness of Professor Green's system, and of Hegel himself, is one incident to German thought in the main. It is apt to take little heed of facts. It not only erects self-consciousness into a first principle, but it makes of the abstract form of consciousness the very sum and substance of all being. Hence it not seldom becomes a system in the air, suitable perhaps to the dwellers in Cloud Cuckoo Town, but hardly adapted "for human nature's daily food." Now, if Professor Green had turned to St. Thomas—or to competent modern expounders of him, such as Kleutgen or Sanseverino—he might, not impossibly, have been led to see that the beginning of our thought is not an abstract "self-consciousness" at all, but an act of experience in which we are conscious of "self" and "non-self" in the concrete. And then assuredly he would not have maintained, as he does, that our consciousness has no beginning: nay, he would have discovered that what he calls the external or the phenomenal cannot be got rid of as a starting-point, a *conditio sine qua non*, of human thought. Almost all his aberrations may be traced to what a Catholic philosopher must account this fundamental misconception.

Especially is this the case with regard to that "historical Christianity" which he so lightly esteemed. He is not the first, as he will not be the last, who has endeavoured to separate the idea of Christ from the person of Jesus, and to live by the one without believing in the other. But, to speak metaphorically, if we would drink wine, there must needs be a vessel from which to imbibe it. We cannot have the contents and no container. The starting-point of the Christian faith, which itself, as the Church teaches, is no doubt spiritual and internal—must always be "the sinless years that breathed beneath the Syrian blue": the Word that "wrought with human hands the creed of creeds." It is to the very combination of eternal truth with the details of the evangelical history, that we must ascribe the influence of Christianity over the hearts and lives of men. A plausible thing it has often seemed to say, "Let the facts be as though they were not." But here, if anywhere, Bishop Butler's dictum applies: "Things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be." The facts contain the revelation: the Idea without the Person is empty. "A present God." Yes, surely. It is just because Christians believe in a present God that they recognize His revelation in the past. The personal and conscious relation of the individual with his Creator no more hinders that communion with his fellows which we call the Church, or is a bar to his receiving light and grace by

means of it, than the fact that every man is born of his parents can make it untrue that he came from the Almighty. Reject historical Christianity, and in the course of a very few years how much definite Christianity will be left? Of course, Catholics do not say that the assent to a bare intellectual proposition is faith. No; that is but *fides demoniorum*. But faith, if it is to be anything more than a blind instinct, must involve assent to propositions. And that it should likewise involve assent to historical truths, as Christians have always been taught, is simply of a piece with the laws by which man lives, and moves, and has his being. He never is abstract self-consciousness: he belongs to the world of time; he is individual, concrete—*hic et nunc*, as the schoolmen say. And the religious faith which binds him to a present Deity must have the same character.

So much may suffice to indicate a train of thought which the intelligent reader may, without difficulty, follow out for himself.

W. S. LILLY.

ART. VII.—THE PRINCIPLES OF '89.

1. *The State of Society in France before the Revolution of 1789.* By ALEXIS CLÉREL DE TOCQUEVILLE. Translated by HENRY REEVE, D.C.L. Third edition. London: Murray. 1888.
2. *La Revolution Française à propos du Centenaire de 1789.* Par Mgr. FREPPEL, Evêque d'Angers. Paris: Roger et Chernoviz. 1889.
3. *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine.* Par H. TAINE. Paris: Hachette. 1880-1881.

IT has been the fashion with many modern historians to treat the Revolution of 1789 as a beneficent movement of reform, distorted by subsequent accidents into a system of crime. To take this view is, in our opinion, to misconceive its character, its objects, and its origin. It was from its initiation an organized attack, captained and led by sworn conspirators, on all pre-existing institutions, beginning with religion as the corner-stone of human society.

The principles of '89 are neither more nor less than the principles of Jacobinism. The Declaration of the Rights of Man is anarchy in embryo. The *Contrat Social*, from which it is

evolved, is political subversion raised to the rank of a dogma of philosophy. The Instructions to the States-General are crammed with the cant phrases of Republican declamation, afterwards mouthed forth to the Commune and Convention. Thus the doctrines which were to be the solvent of society were formulated long before the catastrophe they produced, and the whole moral fabric of the old order of things was secretly corroded, like the framework of a building by the mining operations of the white ants, while it yet stood to the eye apparently sound and intact.

What was this species of moral dynamite, and whence was the explosive charge derived, which shivered in an instant a powerful monarchy and an established order, are questions which history is, for the most part, content to leave unanswered.

The French Revolution [says M. de Tocqueville, its most profound student] was a political revolution, which in its operation and aspect resembled a religious one, inspiring the same passion in its adherents, and having a like character of universality.

On the eve of the Revolution, the same authority tells us, Europe was covered with secret societies, Freemasons, Illuminati, and Rosierucians, consisting, not, as at the present day, of peasants and working-men, but of sovereigns, princes, capitalists, and statesmen. Yet, when the papers of the Illuminati were seized in 1786, they were found to include documents of the most anarchical character, denouncing private property, and proclaiming absolute equality of conditions. Judicial investigations, about the same time, in Munich, Vienna, Naples, and Madrid, disclosed the organization of a vast conspiracy against thrones, churches, property, and even family ties. These two sets of facts help, as it seems to us, to elucidate each other. The element of fanaticism pointed out by the eminent French historian was supplied by the teaching of the sects, their creed, based on the negation of the supernatural and the perfectibility of man by human means alone, being one that inspires rabid enthusiasm in its votaries; while their machinery and ramifications furnished the means for its extensive propagation. Our author testifies elsewhere to the zeal of the preachers of infidelity.

Nowhere but in France [says he] had irreligion become a general passion, fervid, intolerant, and oppressive. . . . In France the Christian religion was attacked with a sort of rage, without any attempt to substitute any other form of belief. Continuous and vehement efforts having been made to expel from the soul of man the faith that filled it, the soul was left empty. A mighty multitude wrought with ardour at this thankless task.

This hatred of Christianity was the great motive power of the French Revolution, imprinting on it, what M. de Maistre, writing

in 1797, calls its "Satanic character." Mgr. Freppel, in his recent brochure, defines it as "the application of rationalism to the civil, political, and social order," and terms this its doctrinal character, the feature which distinguishes it from all other changes brought about in the history of States.

For it would be [he goes on] to confine one's investigation to the bare surface of things, to see in it a simple question of a dynasty or a form of government, of rights to be extended or restricted for this or that category of citizens. It contains an entirely new conception of human society, considered in its origin, its constitution, and its ends. Its principle and its aim is totally to eliminate Christianity, together with the divine revelation and the supernatural order, and to follow solely what its theorists call the dictates of nature and of reason. Its hatred of the supernatural will remain its characteristic trait.

The men imbued with these doctrines were genuine fanatics, whose mission of regenerating mankind by human means alone was, in their eyes, sublime enough to justify their savage system.

We desire [said Robespierre] to substitute morality for egotism, honesty for honour, principle for custom, duty for politeness, the empire of reason for the tyranny of fashion, contempt for vice for contempt for misfortune, self-respect for insolence, greatness of soul for vanity, love of glory for love of money, the society of the good for good society, merit for intrigue, genius for wit, the charm of happiness for the satiety of luxury, the greatness of man for the littleness of the great, a magnanimous, powerful, and happy people for an amiable, frivolous, and miserable one; all the virtues, in short, and all the miracles of the Republic, for all the vices and all the absurdities of the Monarchy. This, all this we will do, cost what it may. The living generation matters little; we work for generations to come.

Thus does the Tartuffe of the Terror hope "to carry out the intentions of nature, to accomplish the destinies of humanity, to fulfil the promises of philosophy."

It is a necessity [said Billaud Varennes] to re-create to a certain extent the people whom we desire to restore to liberty, since we have to destroy ancient prejudices, change fixed habits, correct depraved affections, restrict superfluous wants, eradicate inveterate vices.

Our aim [professes Saint Just, in a Report of February 26, 1794] is to create such an order of things that a universal inclination towards good may be established, and that all factions may be at once hurried to the scaffold.

To carry out these aims, they were content to wade through seas of blood, and stamp out civilization together with religion.

We will make a cemetery of France [said Carrier, the author of the *noyades* of Nantes] rather than not regenerate her in our own fashion.

Danton alone, more crudely candid, attempted no sophistries with conscience.

We are the dregs of the people [he said to M. de Ségur], we have risen from the gutter, and with ordinary conduct we should be sent back there. We can only govern by fear. The Parisians are—[here some of his habitual elegances of diction are veiled by asterisks]—a river of blood must flow between them and the emigration.

It is noteworthy that this savage, who was at least no hypocrite, was the only one among his colleagues who died with something like an expression of penitence on his lips.

Such was the creed of Jacobinism—the regeneration of man by political dogma enforced by the unanswerable logic of the guillotine. Similar chimeras were widely prevalent at the time, for, in the words of Perthes, a contemporary writer, "We thought that by becoming highly enlightened we might become perfect."

This new and widely prevailing form of moral perversion was due to no fortuitous coincidence of ideas, but to a vast system of propagandism, which at that time received fresh extension. The fusion and reorganization of the secret societies of Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century was undoubtedly the event which exercised the largest influence over its subsequent history. Without following out the pedigree of these associations, as traced by Dr. Eckert,* from the Magian and Zoroastrian sects among the Hebrews, through the Gnostics, Sabians, and Manichæans, down to the Middle Ages, suffice it to say that they have adopted much of the symbolism, and in their esoteric teaching probably of the tenets, of these Eastern heresies. Kindred traditions were handed down from the Order of the Temple, converted, on its suppression early in the fourteenth century, into a secret organization, which had numerous members among the French aristocracy down to the eve of the Revolution. Closely allied to this sect was that of the Rosicrucians, the red cross of whose name was no other than that which shone conspicuous on the white mantle of the great Military Brotherhood. They had three grades of initiation: the first based on pure Christianity, the second on the Cabala, and the third on nature worship, together with the obligation of avenging the Templars and seizing Malta as the seat of their religion. They also dabbled in alchemy and various forms of necromancy. As all Rosicrucians were Freemasons, although the converse did not hold good, they existed only as a modifying influence within the larger body.

* "Magazin der Beweisführung für Verurtheilung des Freimaurer-Ordens Geschichte meiner persönlichen Anklage der Freimaurer Gesellschaft." By Eduard Emil Eckert. Schaffhausen. 1857.

The latter, too, included the Illuminati, the assimilation of whose principles caused a revolution and movement of partial disruption in its ranks. Originally founded, or perhaps resuscitated, by Weisshaupt among the German universities, this sect was the agent of the great modern reform by which Freemasonry has acquired its present democratic constitution.* To it is also due the incorporation of politics with the other aims of the Order, and the propagation of doctrines, proved, on the evidence of its own papers, to be subversive of all social institutions. The introduction of these changes, in or about the year 1777, caused a schism among the adherents of the older Freemasonry, which, by the withdrawal of its more respectable members, became thenceforward a more unrestrained power for evil. That the French Revolution, effected on the basis of a programme laid down long beforehand, was the work of the newly reformed Order is proved on the evidence of its own members.

The testimony of Baron von Haugwitz, the Prussian Minister, in a memorial laid before the Congress of Verona in 1822, alone makes this abundantly clear. As Provincial Grand Master, he had a large share in the reorganization of the Order, whose most occult secrets he penetrated when quite a young man, urged thereto, as he explains, rather by curiosity than by sympathy. Its aims he declared to have been "to exercise a commanding influence over thrones and monarchs, as were once those of the Knights Templars." Charged in 1777 with the direction of the Lodges of Prussia, Poland, and Russia, he expresses his wonder at the supineness of those in authority in regard to their doings.

Had I not [he exclaims] experienced it myself, it would appear to me even now incredible with what indifference Governments could wholly overlook an abuse of this kind—a true *status in statu*.

The origin of the Order he describes as lost in the mists of fable, but, coming down to more recent times, he avers with certainty that both Cromwell and Bonaparte were acquainted with the revolutionary system, and used it for their own advancement. The society, during his membership, he describes as split into two parties.

One found in its emblems the key to the Philosopher's Stone. Deism, or even atheism, was the religion of this sect. The seat of its operations was Berlin, and its leader Dr. Zinndorf.

It was different with the other party, whose ostensible head was

* It must be borne in mind that modern English Freemasonry, however objectionable as a secret society, is of a very mild type compared with its Continental namesake, with which it is not even in communion at present.

Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. In open feud with each other, these two sections were united in a common aim—to dominate the world. Thrones in their possession, and monarchs their lieutenants, such was their ideal.

All that he learned in 1777 and subsequently left no doubt in his mind as to the genesis of the French Revolution.

I then arrived [he says] at the conclusion that all that was begun in 1788 and developed subsequently, the French Revolution, with the murder of the King and all its horrors, was not only resolved upon at that time, but deliberately prepared by conferences, instructions, oaths, and signals, which leave no doubt as to the concert by which everything was planned and combined.

The execution of the King he even regards as an act of retribution on the House of Capet for the death of Jacques Bernard de Molei, Grand Master of the Temple, executed on March 11, 1313. In his own words :

The Order of the Temple was in possession of the secret. Molei was executed, and a melancholy experience has taught us that it was not accident which led Louis XVI. to the Temple. Thence he was destined to be led as a victim to the Manes of the Master.

The assertions in this document are confirmed by another equally authoritative, a manifesto addressed to the moderate wing of the Masonic Order, called Brotherhood of Strict Observance, published in a collection of Masonic documents in Berlin in 1794. Its object was to denounce the excesses of the extreme section, and decree, in consequence, the dissolution of the order, with the result, we may conjecture, of the secession from it of its more moderate disciples. This paper contains, after much preliminary matter, the following striking avowal :

No others than the schismatic sectaries of our association have been, and will be, the authors of all revolutions, past and future. We must assure princes and peoples that our covenant is not chargeable with all these evils.

While thus disclaiming responsibility for themselves, the protesting members pronounce a scathing denunciation of the methods of revolutionary agitation pursued by their more advanced brethren, in the following terms :

On the political insanity of nations they founded their insatiable ambition. Their leaders knew only too well how to sow the germs of this insanity in the popular mind. They began by making religion contemptible. Mockery and ridicule were the weapons of this sect, directed first against religion and then against its servants. Principles of license were proclaimed upon the housetops, and this license was dubbed freedom. Rulers were termed despots. Rights of man were

invented, which were nowhere found in the code of nature, and the people were incited to extort these rights from their princes. In all their speeches and actions was disclosed the plan of a universal disruption of all social bonds and orders. They inundated the world with innumerable books, they enlisted adepts of rank and influence, and they deceived the most perspicacious minds by their pretence of noble aims. In the hearts of youth they implanted the love of pleasure, and enkindled them with the tinder of insatiable passions. Unbridled pride and sultanesque ambition were the mainsprings of this sect, for its masters had nothing less than the thrones of the universe as their objective, and the government of the nations was to be directed from their midnight conventicles.

The document contains the further remarkable admission that all heresies have been founded by dissidents from the Order, which probably means in reality its more advanced adepts, to whom, as in all similarly constituted religions or sects, the true interpretation, or esoteric sense of its dogmas, was alone made known. This is stated to consist, in some Masonic sects at least, of a blasphemous gloss on portions of the Old Testament, by which it is construed into a gospel of nature worship and charter of heathenish excess. Here the Lutheran doctrine of private interpretation of Scripture is pushed to an unexpected conclusion.

It is, however, with the political aspects of Freemasonry that we are at present more directly concerned. Its reorganization in France, on the same lines as in Germany, dates from 1772, when the aristocratic orders of Templars and other Knights were fused together in the democratic amalgam of the Grand Orient. Dr. Eckert conjectures, with some appearance of plausibility, that Voltaire, stated on Condorcet's evidence to have been sworn into a secret society when in England as a young man, may have been the prime agent in this movement, whence perhaps the title of Patriarch, so frequently bestowed on him by his brother sectaries. The kindred society, or "Secret Academy" of Philosophers, founded by him, was probably a literary committee of the larger body, and in a letter of April 20, 1761, he recommends that it should be organized on the model of Freemasonry. To this *crème de la crème* of infidelity belonged, in addition to Rousseau, Diderot, d'Alembert, and Condorcet; Brienne, who gave the first impulse to the Revolution by the creation of provincial assemblies in 1787; Necker, who unshackled it by the concession of double representation to the Tiers Etat two years later; Montmorin and d'Argenson, also Revolutionary Ministers. The Paris committee of this club, founded between 1763 and 1766, was a centre for the propagation of its opinions among the middle classes, and Diderot was able to write exultingly, on January 25, 1776, that

"there are philosophers even in the shops in Paris." The nomination of the infamous Brienne as Archbishop of Sens was due to the machinations of the organization, which exercised a powerful though hidden influence on all the public events of the time.

The cipher, *Ecr. l'inf.*, found at the foot of so many of Voltaire's letters, is an abbreviation of the motto of the Academy, *Ecraser l'Infâme*, the epithet applied to Christianity; and the phrase when used in this way serves as a password between brother members.

The lines of an organized campaign against religion are discussed in the correspondence between Frederick II. and Voltaire, who writes as follows on April 5, 1767, in answer to a proposal of that monarch's on the subject:—"Your project for undermining the Christian faith through the monks is the plan of a great captain. When the monks are once set aside, error will be exposed to universal contempt. In France much is written on the subject, the whole world talks of it, but we have concluded that the enterprise is not yet ripe. People have not courage enough in France, the swarm of the devout has still too much influence there." The history of the present generation shows how faithful to the Voltairian tradition is modern liberalism in its hostility to the religious orders.

The identification of the mystical aims of Freemasonry with the system of Voltaire is curiously shown in his zeal for the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem. Having failed to secure the co-operation of the King of Prussia, owing to his fear of complications with the Turks, he adjured the Empress Catherine of Russia to obtain the sanction of Ali Bey for the project of reconstructing the shrine of Solomon, and summoning thither the Jews from all parts of the world. This advocacy of a return to the ceremonial of the old law as an anti-Christian demonstration, by one whose creed was based on the negation of both revelations alike, throws a curious light on the so-called religious symbolism of Freemasonry.

While the diabolical genius of Voltaire was thus the plough of the Revolution, preparing its soil by uprooting all previous growths of belief, the sophistries of Rousseau armed the battering-ram by which the whole superstructure of the social edifice was to be razed to the ground. The *Contrat Social*, with its turgid enunciation of first principles, resolves the community into its primitive elements, and undermines human authority as effectually as the writings of the Encyclopedists did Divine law. Both classes of literature embodied the teaching of the Lodges, whose activity in their own sphere of operations was meantime intensified from day to day. The general Masonic

Congress, held at Wilhemsbad in 1780, marks a fresh epoch in the development of events, and the fact that the French and German branches were soon after placed in close communication furnishes some clue to the subject of its deliberations. The Grand Orient of France, of which the Duke of Chartres (Philippe Egalité) was Grand Master, now numbered 282 Lodges in the provinces, and 81 in Paris, while its tale of membership is supposed to have summed up to about a million. Brissot, Bailly, Danton, Mirabeau, Camille Desmoulins, Chenier, Custine, the Lameths, the Abbé Siéyes, and other conspicuous revolutionary chiefs were on its muster-roll. For some time previous to 1789 its system of recruitment had been extended to the dregs of the populace, and by its agency the bloodhounds of the Terror were trained to their sanguinary trade. Nor was constitutional agitation omitted from the programme of the society, and its electioneering campaign was so successful that one-third of the representatives of the nobles in the States-General are stated to have belonged to its ranks.

So the web was woven with which the crimson woof of coming history was to be entwined, but the agency that had so far guided events now hid itself, in view of their further development, under its talismanic cap of invisibility. The Order, according to its prescribed mode of action, as soon as the crisis it had provoked was imminent, underwent a sudden metamorphosis. The Lodges were simultaneously closed as the peace organization fell into abeyance, and the war-directorate, headed by a dictator, veiled from the knowledge of the profane under the lofty title of "the firmament," started into existence. Thus the society, ceasing to be a tangible corporation, while still maintaining its secret organization, eluded responsibility for the outbreak it had prepared. Among a sheaf of orders and instructions issued previous to its transformation were a notification to members fixing July 14 as the day of insurrection, and a circular to all Lodges abroad, calling on them to give aid and support to the Revolution.

Contemporaneously with the closing of the Lodges, the most celebrated of all political clubs sprang into being, and the unclean brood of Jacobins, three hundred thousand strong, swarmed over France, as if newly spewed forth from the abyss of Tartarus. Under the sheltering wing of the Jacobin Club of Paris, the brood mother of Revolution, the advanced adepts of Freemasonry and Illuminism met on a new basis of fraternity. Its practical identity with their old resorts is evident from its similarity in principles and procedure. In both societies the novice was presented by two sponsors, and in both a solemn oath was required of him to execute all orders of the club, even if contrary

to his judgment and conscience, and to denounce father, mother, wife, or child, should they act in contravention to them. Jacobinism, too, though its proceedings were ostensibly public, had its inner circle or secret committee, where its more occult preliminaries were transacted. Thus was wrought and fashioned the most perfect mechanism of murder the world has ever seen, fully wound up for action, and ready to start on its career of destruction like some fabled monster newly sprung upon humanity. The same source supplied the phraseology as well as the machinery of the Revolution, for the windy paradoxes first blazoned to the world on the banners of French anarchy had been the familiar jargon of conspiracy for years before. The noblesse, who, in the works of M. de Tocqueville, "made impiety the pastime of their vacant existence," were permeated with the language as well as the doctrines of the sect, and their *Cahiers*, or Instructions to their representatives, are a repertory of the stock phrases of revolutionary declamation. "Lèse Nation," "Citizen-King," "inalienable rights of man," "principles inherent to the social compact," are already found here as familiar flowers of diction, while the assertion that "political principles are as absolute as those of morality" belongs to the same system of ethics whence was later evolved the monstrous creed of the Jacobin triumvirate.

The triple motto of the coming Republic, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," also appears in the *Cahiers* under the Monarchy, but we can trace its pedigree further back, since it was first adopted as a battle-cry by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Frankfurt in 1782. Fraternity is here used to signify that of the Order, not the universal brotherhood of man. The Tree of Liberty itself is not original, since it is no other than the acacia, an acknowledged emblem of the Masonic Order, known as Cassia in the Lodges, and probably identical with the Tree of Life, a very ancient and widely diffused Eastern symbol. Borrowed, too, from the Masonic stock-in-trade is the device "Union et Force," that of the Order, adopted for some of the revolutionary coinage, as well as for the heading of the "Bulletin des Lois" under the same régime. In the various *émeutes*, moreover, which characterized that period, M. Barruel* tells us that the fraternization of the agents of disorder with the spectators was effected by the interchange of Masonic signs, the passive participation of the latter in the most revolting crimes being secured by this means.

The expectancy of impending convulsion, universally prevalent

* "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme." Par Augustin Barruel. Londres. 1797-98.

throughout Europe on the eve of the Revolution, was thus no mere vague presentiment, weighing on the moral atmosphere like the foreboding oppression which heralds the earthquake or the tornado. It was rather the result of foreknowledge, shared by the public in varying degrees, of a vast scheme of disruption, matured in the bosom of world-wide associations whose decrees dictated the future. M. de Tocqueville, with his usual acumen, has pointed out how completely the whole train of events existed in germ, long before they were manifest to the eye.

The old *régime* [he says] was still in existence, and already the institutions of England were deemed superannuated and inadequate. The root of every incident that followed was implanted in men's minds. Scarcely an opinion was expressed in the whole course of the Revolution which might not already be traced in its germ; there was not an idea realized by the Revolution that some theory had not at once reached and even surpassed.

Other observers testify to the same fact, and Gouverneur Morris in his *Diary* * tells of his surprise, on visiting Paris in the spring of 1789, at finding the highest circles, even those of royalty itself, deeply imbued with such advanced political ideas as left his western republicanism far behind. Necker at that time stated that all principle of obedience was gone, and that even the army, as was afterwards fatally proved, was no longer to be relied upon. The revolutionary ideal, in short, existed in the popular mind long before it took visible shape, and its course was fully predetermined ere its initial step had actually been taken.

Nor were warnings wanting to those in authority, and M. Barruel tells of one addressed to the Ministers of Louis XVI. by an individual more or less behind the scenes of conspiracy, asking them if they knew what was going on in the Masonic Lodges, and bidding them keep watch over their doings. The singularly fulfilled prophecy of the Abbé Beauregard may also have been inspired by natural sources of knowledge. From the pulpit of Notre Dame he foretold, more than thirteen years before the event, the impious profanation of the high altar, saying that a heathen Venus would be "seated on the throne of the Holy of Holies," while he declared he saw the hammer and the axe suspended over altar and throne. It seems probable from the very definiteness of the prediction that it was based on actual information conveyed to him, if not under the direct seal of confession, yet in a confidence which closed his lips as to its source.

The great Revolution was thus no improvised concatenation of

* "*Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris.*" Edited by Anne Cary Morris. London: Kegan Paul. 1889.

fortuitous events, but the creation of a gigantic conspiracy, working out the dissolution of society by the help of secret forces permeating its whole structure. Only as the fruit of a previous period of incubation are its sudden maturity, its organic completeness, and its rapid but regular development, intelligible, or even conceivable, to the mind. The accumulated wrongs of centuries, though they undoubtedly helped it forward by pulverizing the social soil in which it took root, are of themselves insufficient to account for its swift progression in systematized violence. Resistance to the reform of abuses might indeed have served to explain it, but of this there was nowhere the slightest indication, and the higher orders, from royalty downwards, were as eager to concede, as the lower to demand, the most liberal measures of redress. Nothing, in fact, is more remarkable than the unanimity of the Instructions to the Delegates of the three Orders in the States-General on this head. The programme of measures recommended to the representatives of the clergy may serve as a specimen. These included security for personal liberty by an Act analogous to that of Habeas Corpus, reconstitution of the entire judicial system, abolition of extraordinary jurisdiction by which officials were withdrawn from that of the ordinary tribunals, permanence of judges, abolition of State prisons, publicity of procedure, admission of all ranks to office by the test of merit alone, extinction by purchase of seigniorial rights as contrary to freedom, promotion of education, of lay charitable institutions, and of various forms of encouragement to agriculture. The indefeasible right of the nation to enact laws and decree taxation by the voice of the States-General, annually convoked and freely elected, was also asserted, and the inviolability of deputies, the constitution of provincial assemblies of States and of municipal corporations in towns, claimed as indispensable bulwarks of the new constitution.

No benefit, real or imaginary, was conferred on France by the Revolution which might not have been pacifically attained by the adoption of these schemes. But the realization of the programme of the Lodges required the capture of the National Assembly by the Jacobin irreconcilables, and the weakness of their adversaries enabled them to secure this end. The double representation of the Tiers Etat, granted by Necker, who was deeply under the influence of the sects, gave them numerical preponderance over the other Orders, and this was converted into legislative predominance by their next move, the transformation of the triple assembly into a single democratic chamber. This latter change rendered the overthrow of the Monarchy a foregone conclusion, as it left the royal veto on disputed measures in direct conflict with the will of the majority, and exposed consequently to the full fire of popular odium without the sheltering screen of any

intermediary authority. Thus the Revolution was hurried unchecked through its earlier phases with a rapidity which the quick recurrence of its centenary anniversaries has recently brought to our minds. On May 5 took place the opening of the States-General as an orderly and regularly constituted legislative assembly; on July 14 mob law became paramount in the taking of the Bastille, symbolizing the overthrow of all legal authority.

With it fell the still stately, though corroded, structure of the *Ancien Régime*, in dissolution so complete that history has had no little difficulty in recovering the details of its former aspect and conditions. Seen no longer through the false light of partisan declamation, its most crying evils are found to be due to the iniquitous fiscal system of the monarchy. Its worse abuse dated from the reign of Charles VII., when the Crown usurped the right of arbitrary taxation, laying on the *taille*, or poll-tax, without the consent of the Estates of the realm. The exemption of the upper classes from the impost secured their tame acquiescence in its exaction, and its increase, falling on the dumb and unrepresented multitude, afforded thenceforward the most facile means of filling an empty exchequer. The poorest class in the community was thus made the scapegoat of all its financial blunders, leaving a fatal balance of injustice in the long outstanding account. The actual amount of taxation borne by the French peasant in the eighteenth century is reckoned at fifty-three francs out of every hundred to the State, fourteen to the seigneur, and as much to the clergy, leaving but nineteen for his personal expenditure. The Government *corvée*, or labour conscription for public works, and the obligation of service in the militia, were also heavy burdens on the rural population.

The bourgeoisie of the towns had equally substantial grievances, of an even more exasperating character. Thus the Crown converted the sale of the municipal franchises into a source of income, periodically revoking the privilege of electing their own corporations, nominally conferred on the towns in perpetuity in consideration of a money payment, and compelling its repurchase seven times in eighty years. To the recently ennobled nobility similar measure was dealt out, and Louis XIV., by the recall of all patents conferred during the previous ninety-two years, enforced a second disbursement on the holders, an example followed by Louis XV. eighty years later.

I do not hesitate to say [says M. de Tocqueville] that no private person could have escaped the grasp of the criminal law who managed his own fortune as the Great Louis in all his glory managed the fortune of the nation.

The social, as opposed to the administrative, oppression of the

French lower orders, has, on the other hand, been grossly exaggerated, the declamatory colouring of contemporary partisanship having been transferred without sufficient inquiry to the pages of history. The more thoughtful of modern students, of whom M. de Tocqueville is chief, have shown that the enfranchisement of the rural classes in France, begun long before 1789, had proceeded farther there than in neighbouring countries, that the worst forms of feudal servitude were abolished, and the surviving hardships comparatively few. The most vexatious of these were the exclusive right of the seigneurs to the ownership of game and pigeons, often pilferers of their poorer neighbours' crops, and the *droits de banalités*, rendering the use of the lord's mill, winepress, and oven, compulsory on the inhabitants of a manor. Tolls and dues on ferries and markets, fines, called *lods et ventes*, on sales of land, and some forms of quit-rents and rent-charges were also levied by the landowners, some of these payments being of the nature of rent, and some in discharge of personal service. All these obligations were, however, far more onerous beyond the Rhine, where feudalism had lost comparatively little of its mediæval character.

Of local political influence the nobles were almost destitute, the rural parishes being practically self-governing communities, through boards partly elective, partly nominated by the Intendant of the Province. Peasant proprietorship, so far from being a result of the Revolution, existed previous to it on a very extensive scale, and the returns for 1790, recovered in the case of a few villages, show the number of landowners to have been half, or sometimes two-thirds, of its present figure, the population in the interim having increased by more than a fourth. The testimony of Arthur Young is to the same effect. He avers that half the soil of France was, before 1789, in the hands of occupant owners, and declares himself to have been totally unprepared for finding such a condition of affairs.

The proscription of the French nobility was thus due less to the personal relations between them and their inferiors than to the artificial fomentation of class hatred by the secret conspiracy against society. Still less intelligible would be the persecution of the clergy save as part of a system of which hatred of all religion was the mainspring and inspiration. Their political privileges and immunities were used indeed as engines of agitation against them, and the unequal distribution of ecclesiastical income, by which the parish clergy were reduced to starvation stipends, while the magnates of the hierarchy enjoyed princely incomes, caused, no doubt, a certain amount of discontent in their own ranks. Of any personal shortcomings dispassionate

history has, however, as a body, acquitted them, and the following statement of M. de Tocqueville is authoritative on the point :

Upon the whole, and notwithstanding the notorious vices of some of its members, I question if there ever existed in the world a clergy more remarkable than the Catholic clergy of France at the moment when it was overtaken by the Revolution—a clergy more enlightened more national, less circumscribed within the bounds of private duty, more alive to public obligations, and at the same time more zealous for the faith—persecution proved it. I entered on the study of these institutions full of prejudice against the clergy of that day ; I conclude it full of respect for them. They had, in truth, no defects but those inherent in all corporate bodies whether political or religious, when they are strongly constituted and knit together ; such as a tendency to aggression, a certain intolerance of disposition, and an instinctive—sometimes a blind—attachment to the particular rights of their Order.

The attachment of the French peasantry to their clergy was proved by their refusal to accept the ministrations of the constitutional priests, and by their constancy in attending, often at the risk of their lives, the services surreptitiously held by the proscribed curés. Another misconception cleared away by the same author is that the material wealth of France is altogether the creation of the Republican Government. He, on the contrary, has pointed out that the first two decades of the reign of Louis XVI. were the most prosperous epoch of the French Monarchy, and that due allowance being made for the difference of the times, the advance in national prosperity in the twenty years preceding the Revolution has been unsurpassed in any subsequent period. The revenue, though hopelessly mismanaged, showed symptoms of elasticity, foreign commerce received a large extension, and Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles had entered on their modern phase of existence as great centres of trade and manufactures.

But this development of the national resources received a fatal check from the agricultural disasters of 1788, and the famine they bred was the immediate agency which unleashed the wolves of anarchy on altar and on throne. A terrible hailstorm on July 13, the eve of the harvest, following on a prolonged drought in the spring, devastated the country for sixty leagues round Paris, from Normandy to Champagne, leaving it a choice recruiting ground for disorder. On this scourge followed a winter so severe that the Seine froze from Paris to Rouen, one-third of the olives in Provence were destroyed and the remainder sterilized for two years, while whole chestnut forests perished in the mountains of the Vivarais and Cevennes. Clergy and nobles vied with each other in their efforts to relieve the distress, but Charity can do no more than partially repair the wholesale destruction of Nature. Corn continued to advance in price and deteriorate in quality,

tumultuous assemblages sought forcibly to regulate its sale, and 300 serious bread riots are recorded previous to the taking of the Bastille. It was, however, remarked everywhere, that want was rather their pretext than their cause, that the ringleaders were not so much the needy as the lawless, and that they made a profitable trade of violence, retailing immediately at a large profit the grain they had extorted under plea of hunger. Such desperadoes abounded in a country where smuggling flourished along 1200 miles of internal customs-barriers, and poaching along 400 leagues of *capitaneries*, or royal game preserves.

In the rural districts, as in Paris, the insurrection assumed the form, not of local or sporadic outbreaks, as in previous seasons of distress, but of an organized and uniform uprising against authority. M. Taine finds the provincial officials writing, in March and April 1789, that they have no longer, as formerly, to deal with isolated riots, but with a movement bound and led by uniform principles, which were, that the King wished every one to be equal, that there were to be no more seigneurs or bishops, and no more *dîmes* (ecclesiastical tithes) or seignorial dues. The "regeneration of the kingdom," expected from the action of the States-General in effecting an immediate revolution in their condition and fortunes, was anticipated by their declared resolution, both in town and country, to pay "neither taxes, dues, nor debts." Thus the communistic agrarian revolution, inspired by the principles preached in the Lodges (scattered to the number of 282 through the provinces), and led by men in whom it requires a very slight stretch of imagination to see their agents and disciples, was already in full swing weeks before the fateful May 5th. The organization of anarchy is thus seen to be complete in rural France, and it is unnecessary to follow it through its successive phases of rapine and slaughter.

Here we have not so much the spontaneous uprising of a people against ancient forms of oppression, already largely modified, and about to receive the fullest redress, as the working of a great subversive machine, charged with portentous activity, and set in motion by the secret action of a gigantic conspiracy. There was no break of continuity between the links of that chain of destruction by which the democratic reform of Weissaupt engendered French Sansculottism, and Jacobinism was hatched full-fledged from the breeding chamber of the Grand Orient. The vaunted principles of '89 were no new gospel of freedom, the charter of regenerated humanity, but the watchwords of revolt in all ages handed down through dark covenants of evil, then first proclaimed as the creed of a nation. They, like all other doctrines, must be judged by their results, of which M. Taine's terrible indictment of the Revolution has given the first complete

picture to the world. We there see how man's boasted emancipation from moral control resulted in his subjection to the most appalling tyranny recorded in history, how legalized butchery took the place of justice, and licensed blasphemy that of religion, how homicidal maniacs were let loose on helpless provinces, and massacre ran riot in its Protean forms of *noyade*, fusillade, and guillotine, until the mind recoils from the horror of the record, and we seem to be gazing through a mist of blood on the smouldering ruins of an extinct civilization.

The Jacobin theory of popular sovereignty, reducing all governors to the position of clerks immediately controlled and directed by the populace, is by M. Taine held responsible for all these excesses.

That a speculator in his cabinet [says the French historian] should have elaborated such a theory is comprehensible; paper is long-suffering, and abstract beings, hollow simulacra, philosophical puppets, such as he invents, lend themselves to all combinations. That a maniac in his cell should adopt and preach such a theory is also explicable; he is haunted by phantoms, he lives outside the real world, and besides in this incessantly upheaved democracy it is he, the eternal denouncer, the prompter of every tumult, the instigator of every murder, who under the name of "the friend of the people" becomes the arbitrator of all lives, and the veritable sovereign. That a people overburdened with imposts, miserable, starving, indoctrinated by declaimers and sophists, should have applauded and practised this theory is again comprehensible; in extreme suffering one seizes on any weapon, and to the oppressed a doctrine is true when it helps to deliver him from oppression. But that politicians, legislators, statesmen, finally ministers and heads of the Government, should have attached themselves to such a theory, that they should have embraced it more closely in proportion as it became more destructive, that day by day, for three years, they should have seen the social order crumble piecemeal beneath its blows, without ever recognizing it as the agent of such ruin; that under the light of the most disastrous experience, instead of confessing its mischiefs, they should have glorified its utility; that many of them, a whole party, an almost unanimous assembly, should have revered it as a dogma, and enforced it to the uttermost with the enthusiasm and unbendingness of a faith; that, driven by it into a narrow *cul-de-sac* which closed in on them as they advanced, they should have marched forward mutually crushing each other; that having reached the end and found themselves, instead of in the imaginary temple of their pretended freedom, in a slaughter-house; that within the precincts of this national shambles they should have been alternately the butchers and the butchered; that, following their maxims of universal and perpetual liberty, they should have installed a despotism worthy of Dahomey, a tribunal like that of the Inquisition, human hecatombs like those of ancient Mexico; that in their prisons and on their scaffolds they should never have ceased to believe in their righteous principles, in their

humanity, and in their virtue, that in their fall they should have considered themselves martyrs; this is indeed strange: such an aberration of mind and such an extreme of pride are hardly to be found elsewhere, and to produce them required a concurrence of circumstances only once met in combination.

The nucleus of this anarchical doctrine is found in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the Magna Charta of revolutionary disorder. Resistance to oppression is here stated to be "a natural and imprescriptible right," and law defined as "the expression of the general will;" men are declared to be "born free and equal in rights;" society is pronounced to have the right "to demand of every public agent an account of his administration," and to all citizens is ascribed the right "to concur personally or by their representatives in the formation of the law." It scarcely needs the demonstration of subsequent events to prove that any system of government which starts by asserting the sacredness of the right of rebellion carries in its own organic structure the seeds of dissolution.

Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, the older Gospel of the Revolution, is a still more subversive instrument. Here, from a course of abstract reasoning, are deduced the propositions, that since sovereignty is of its nature incapable of alienation or representation, the deputies of the people neither are nor can be its representatives, or anything but its commissaries, incapable of concluding anything definitively; that consequently every law which the people has not ratified is null, and that the English people are only free during the election of a Parliament, on the election of which they become its slaves. At the same time the absolute power of the State over the individual is pushed to the negation of all private rights of property.

The clauses of this contract [says Rousseau] are summed up in a single one, the total alienation of each individual with all his rights to the commonality, each giving himself whole and entire, such as he is at the moment, together with all his forces, of which the goods he possesses form part.

Or, in other words: "As nature gives man an absolute power over all his limbs, the social pact gives the social body absolute power over each of its members."

A further corollary to these precepts is found in Brissot's "*Recherches philosophiques sur le droit de la Propriété*," published in 1780:—

If forty crowns [pronounces this economist] are enough to preserve our existence, to possess 200,000 is an obvious theft, an injustice. Exclusive property is a crime in the order of nature. Our institutions punish theft, a virtuous action inculcated by Nature herself.

"Opulence [said Saint Just] is an infamy," and Robespierre laid it down that the richest Frenchman should have no more than 3000 francs of annual income. Nor did the Jacobin Government allow these principles to remain in the region of abstract theory. The close of the era of pillage thus inaugurated found the State, according to M. Taine, possessed of three-fifths of the soil of France, with all its most valuable monuments, public and private; museums, picture galleries, abbeys, châteaux, and churches. Not even the most intimately personal belongings escaped the omnivorous clutch of the Convention, since by one decree 10,000 people were rendered shoeless in Strasburg, while by another all the green and blue mantles throughout several departments were requisitioned within twenty-four hours.

Whatever the fine names [says M. Taine] with which the Revolution adorns itself, it is in its essence *a translation of property*; thence it derives its intrinsic support, its permanent strength, its *primum mobile*, and its historical significance.

Thus, it can never want for adherents, since its two great levers, envy and cupidity, are omnipresent in human nature.

The morality of the secret societies, inherited and practised by the Revolution, is as unsound as their political economy. Whatever their more occult speculations as to the unseen world, they all agree in propounding two practical doctrines striking at the root of moral principle, that the end justifies the means, and that suicide is allowable, and even commendable, on grounds of either personal or social expediency. As the detachment, moreover, of the individual from all duties save those owed to the State alone is one of their main objects, their energies are everywhere directed to the relaxation of family bonds. Civil marriage, divorce, and State education are the three principal means to this end, in its zeal for which the reformed Government of France set modern liberalism a shining example, going even the length of depriving parents of all control over their children after the age of five.

The gregarious instinct of humanity as manifested in other forms of association is equally repugnant to its improvers and renovators. The Church, pronounced to be "in continual opposition to the rights of man," is naturally in the front rank of obnoxious institutions; but Mirabeau, by a sweeping generalization, in 1789 condemned all private societies existing within the State as antagonistic to the unity of its principles and the equilibrium of its forces. The extermination of the religious Orders is a logical deduction from this formula, and we do not require to be reminded how faithfully this article of the Voltairian programme

has been acted on, not alone in republican France, but in all countries leavened with the same doctrines.

Thus the revolutionary ideal, reconstructed from the principles of '89, is seen to be the individual man stripped of all personal belongings, moral and material, of religion, family, property, and every form of private right or predilection, confronted with the irresistible power of a deified State, and forming one of a vast congeries of disaggregated units, reduced to an unvarying and monotonous standard of uniformity. This is the great deliverance of thought, the new conception of society, which the nations of the earth are invited to celebrate after the lapse of a century, by assisting at the inauguration of a glorified fancy-fair and a wire-rigging Tower of Babel. The representatives of the Great Powers showed their appreciation of the occasion by leaving Paris in a body on the eve of the ceremonial.

The excesses of the French Revolution have indeed defeated the larger aims of its authors, by the reaction of horror which they have caused. Vast as was the success of the sects in thus obtaining absolute sway over a great country, it was intended to be but the first step to the realization of a still vaster programme. That nothing less than universal empire* was their dream, we have seen on the testimony of members of their own body. This view was shared by the French Jacobins, and Thuriot said, in 1792, "The Revolution is not for France alone; we are accountable for it to humanity." Milhaud, at the Jacobin Club in November of the same year, delivered himself to a like effect. "The awakening of peoples and overthrow of thrones were," he said, "to be the prelude to a Universal Convention, composed of extraordinary deputies from the several National Conventions, charged with watching incessantly over the maintenance of the rights of man, the general freedom of commerce, and the peace of humanity." The same idea was shared by the ogres of the Convention, which took a practical step towards its accomplishment by the despatch of a circular to all peoples, calling on them to throw off their present forms of government and proclaim the International Revolution. But the prospect of a Jacobin universe has not proved sufficiently alluring to the rest of mankind to induce them to take up the standard of '89, and

"The Parliament of Man, the federation of the world,"

remains in this form as yet a poet's dream.

Attempts, attended with more or less partial success, have since

* The Manichæan sect aimed in similar fashion at the dominion of the universe.

been made to inaugurate a European reign of disorder, and society in 1848 was shaken far and wide by the earthquake throes of a universal period of convulsion. Of these disturbances Freemasonry openly claimed the credit, and on March 8 of that year a deputation from the Grand Orient waited on the Provisional Government of France in full Masonic canonicals, and boasted of the Republican rallying cry, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, as a device always inscribed on the banners of the Order. To the latter the Government, in its reply ascribed "the promotion of the higher politics, the politics of humanity." Lamartine further endorsed this statement two days later as follows: "I maintain that from the bosom of Freemasonry have sprung those great ideas which have been the fundamental source of the popular movements of 1789, 1830, and 1848."

The creation of the revolutionary kingdom of Italy has been the most recent achievement of the subterranean forces of upheaval. Signor Crispi, the present ruler of its destinies, an advanced magnate of Freemasonry, scarcely hides his Republican principles under a semblance of loyalty to the monarchy of which he is the servant, and has declared for himself and his compatriots, "We are the children of '89." Here religion is directly struck at through the Papacy, its most conspicuous symbol, and the conversion of Rome into the seat of a new empire of anarchy, and the sanctuary of the naturalistic religion of humanity, is the ultimate object of the agitation of which it is the centre. Against such a consummation the Catholics of the world are leaguering themselves together, and one international confederation is being met by another.

While the two principal branches of the Latin race are thus enslaved to the Masonic Lodges, their secular conspiracy is being held in check in the rest of Europe. The assassination of one sovereign, and numerous attempts on the lives of others, testify indeed to its continued activity; but Russian Nihilism is fast losing ground in the struggle with autocracy, and the rulers of Germany have been wise enough to enlist the Church as their ally against the sworn foes of all authority.

The principles of '89 still exist as a living and potential source of disorder, but the experiment of their installation as a system of government has not been such a success as to constitute a title to cosmopolitan dominion. History judges by results, and holds up "the red fool fury of the Seine" rather as a warning than as an example. France has thus played the part of the drunken helot, whose frenzied antics have taught the rest of Europe the lesson of political moderation. The nadir of moral degradation touched by her during the revolutionary period is sufficiently indicated by one fact alone. For the first time in the history of

the human race, a civilized and once Christian people descended below the level of all save the most debased savages to acts of literal cannibalism, devouring the quivering hearts and limbs of the victims of their fury. Such was the culminating result of the creed of '89, teaching the perfectibility of human virtue by the nostrums of infidel philosophy.

Equally disastrous were the material effects of that era of subversion. The inheritance of ages in institutions, scientific, educational, and religious, was swept away in its high tide of anarchy, leaving the country bankrupt in money and in honour, stript of all that makes the glory of a nation, as completely destitute of the machinery of civilization as a newly reclaimed tract of American prairie.

The Revolution, mighty as an engine of destruction, was thus powerless to create. Its own ephemeral character was stamped on all its productions, and no new order emerged from the ruin it had made. Its series of stillborn constitutions exists only in the limbo of failure, its neo-classical calendar has long ago been shot down the rubbish-hole of time-worn trumpery, its promised renovation of society could not produce so much as a single efficient *gendarme*. To fashion a habitable world out of the chaos it left behind required the creative intellect of a genius and the iron will of an autocrat. Such a combination was given to France in a man who was at once her saviour and her scourge. Napoleon brought her to Waterloo, but without him she must have ceased to exist as a nation.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. VIII.—THE MACBETH CONTROVERSY.

TIME was when originality was an undesirable quality (outside certain limits) in matters theatrical. In those days, if some too daring actor elevated his left eyebrow where Kemble used to elevate his right, the critics and the profession rose against him like the bacchanals against Orpheus. Was it not certain that Kemble, at this particular point of this particular passage in this particular part, used to elevate his right eyebrow? And had not the tradition been handed down to Kemble from Garrick, and to Garrick from Betterton, who received it from Will Davenant, that Burbage or Will Alleyn did so elevate his right eyebrow? And here—oh! sheet-iron thunder and patent lightning! O shade of Shakespeare (behind invisible gauze)!—here was a presumptuous young man who sacrilegiously and corruptly elevated his left! If tradition and prescription were to be thus ignored, farewell all that made the stage great; farewell the tragic frown and the big mouth that makes of “virtue” “vir-r-tue”; the stage would go to the dogs, “To the dogs, sir, egad!” Far different is it with this Athenian age, which desires but to hear some new thing, and cares not that it be a true thing; an age whose younger generation has embraced as an article of faith the Darwinian theory. And it is touching to observe with what piety many of our youths model themselves upon their ancestors.

Nothing can now be too new for an audience. We no longer mouth our blank verse: the ideal, indeed, of both actors and public seems to be something very different. “What,” you exclaim, “was that blank verse? Why, it sounded exactly like prose!” “Ah,” replies your more knowing friend of superior taste, “that was the triumph of the actor’s elocution.” The prevalent idea, in fact, would appear to be that blank verse is a comminuted fracture of prose, and the actor is the surgeon who sets it. Similarly, novelty of interpretation is not only tolerated but invited by an audience which confounds it with originality of interpretation, and believes itself influenced by the love of originality, when it is influenced only by the love of sensation. The actor is of small account now-a-days who cannot put the new cloth of an unfamiliar reading upon the old garment of a familiar character. Accordingly, when it was known that the Lyceum was about to give us a fresh Lady Macbeth and a matured (and possibly revised) Macbeth, people prepared themselves for a new version, and the new view of the characters which would infallibly follow it in the Press. Let us say at once that we have no intention of criticizing the performance. “Quot homines tot

sententiæ;" each spectator may have a different idea of the actor's idea; nor can the actor himself know how far his performance may be the embodiment of his idea. But the views to which the performance has given rise, and which have taken shape in the Press, these are concrete things, and can be criticized with some sureness.

The year just passed may be distinguished as having brought forth two notable offerings at the shrine of Shakespeare—the new view of "Macbeth," and the immortal cryptogram. Of the two, we think we prefer the cryptogram, for it was at least decidedly amusing. Shakespeare must have laughed till Hades resounded like the Mermaid Tavern. We are not so sure whether my Lord Verulam laughed. For there was, in the first place, the agreeable surprise of finding that the great cryptogram gave rise to the great conundrum—viz., if Bacon wrote Shakespeare, who wrote Bacon? Not Bacon, clearly, on the evidence of the great cryptogram, the style of which would justify an action for libel against Bacon's ghost on the part of the seventeenth century, unless style, like port, deteriorates when too long bottled. Then, there was the further pleasure of discovering that Queen Elizabeth considered Shakespeare's plays "a lot of stuff." Possibly to admirers of the Virgin Queen this was a little saddening. They knew already that she swore like a horse-jockey, lied like a Ministry, had more dresses than a Society actress, and nearly as much retiring modesty; but it had hitherto been supposed that she at least talked decent Elizabethan English, and had a pretty taste for poetry and personable courtiers. It was now regretfully perceived that her poetical taste resembled her reputation, and that she talked like a modern young lady who borrows her vocabulary from her schoolboy brother. What further piquancies might not be anticipated from such a beginning? It is only the first step *qui coute*; and her Majesty's first step had been of such a nature as to warrant the most hopeful anticipations of her future proficiency in nineteenth-century slang. Might not the next instalment of the cryptogram reveal Queen Elizabeth describing the "Astrophel and Stella" as "awful rubbish?" nay, might we not even be privileged to behold her Majesty at some Elizabethan antetype of lawn tennis, to see her make a mis-stroke, and to hear her exclaim with her own virginal lips, "What a beastly fluke!" Enough; 'twere to consider too curiously to consider so; and the second instalment of the great cryptogram lags. Possibly Mr. Donnelly feels (and rightly) that he has already done enough for fame. His position is henceforth secure to all future ages in the foremost rank of American humorists.

Like Mr. Donnelly's theory, the new view of "Macbeth"

appears to us untenable, and, unlike Mr. Donnelly's theory, it is decidedly dull. It would not, indeed, be worth while to discuss seriously so wrong-headed a thesis, if, in the first place, it were not a reaction from the extreme traditional view, no less untenable; and if, in the second place, it had not claimed in its support a critical essay worthy of better companionship. What then is this view? As we gather it from the language both of its defenders and impugners (who seem to agree with regard to its essential nature in a manner rare among controversialists) it is this. Macbeth, they say, is by nature a dark, scheming, unscrupulously ambitious man, the mainspring of the whole murder-plot; his wife a gentle-natured, essentially *womanly* woman, devoting herself, out of sheer affection for her husband and blind worship of his will, to the furtherance of designs from which she would naturally have shrunk. The theory has only to be stated to repel, and only to be attacked to fall. But, as if conscious of its weakness, it has invoked the authority of the pamphlet lately published by Mr. Comyns Carr; and amusingly instructive is the contrast between the patron and his clients. That a piece of criticism so careful and minute should be made the pretext for so coarse a perversion, is a curious example of popular inability to perceive that stripes of red, yellow, green, blue, and violet do not make the rainbow. Mr. Carr's view is altogether worthy of the consideration which we mean to give it; and while in some respects it affords a groundwork for (though it does not, we think, authorize) the theory of the Lyceum partisans in the Press, it is in other respects quite at variance with that theory. It is, in fact, so largely true that we could wish it had been entirely true; and supported with such searching discrimination, such close adherence to the text, that we feel even our modified dissent a somewhat ungracious and by no means easy task. To put in one's own words another man's view, especially if the representation be at the same time an abstract, is always an unsafe attempt. Words are such coarse media for ideas. But so far as a careful reading of Mr. Carr's essay has enabled us to seize his meaning, we hope that the following brief sketch may not do it injustice. To begin with the character of Lady Macbeth, for in this is to a considerable extent involved his view of her husband. In the first place, he does not pretend to bring forward any new idea, but merely to enforce more completely what has been already put forward by others. His main object, like that of the Lyceum partisans, is to protest against the traditional stage-view handed down from Mrs. Siddons, which makes of Macbeth's wife a stately tragedy-figure, overpoweringly dominating a weak husband and destitute of every gentle or womanly trait—in fact,

what Malcolm calls her at the close of the play, a "fiend-like queen." This protest undoubtedly is not new: it is some twenty odd years since we first read "Macbeth," and it has never been anything but familiar to us. Mr. Carr sees in her a woman "of the highest nervous organization," truly and typically a woman, devoted to her husband, and assisting him in his crime merely in the blindness of that devotion; girding up all her powers, with a concentration oblivious of after consequences, to the achievement of the project by him suggested; stimulating him when he needs stimulation, advising him when he needs advice, devising for him when his resource gives way under the pressure of irresolution; and when the deed is done collapsing under the reaction, the retributive scourge of unforeseen mental horrors, and the equally unforeseen crimes which are the inevitable offspring of the first fruitful one. He does not ascribe to her a soft and gentle nature, nor does he distinctly deny her unscrupulousness, her absence of principle. On the other hand, it must be confessed that he leaves his opinion on these points so vague that it is open to the advocates of the new view to place their own construction on his language. And his general tone does certainly in some way convey the impression that he does not regard her as by nature in any sort ruthless, or devoid of moral principle. On the latter point, indeed, he says that it is useless to consider the question of morality with regard to either husband or wife; since the period for moral scruples is past with both at the time the play opens. On the former point his most explicit utterance is the remark that if Jael and Judith were essentially women, still more may Lady Macbeth be regarded as essentially feminine. A remark which does not help us much. Mr. Carr might as well have cited Charlotte Corday to elucidate the character of the she-wolf of France, or Brutus to elucidate the character of Macbeth himself. With regard to that character, in spite of his protest against dealing at all with the question of virtue, he conveys pretty plainly his opinion that the usurper is an unprincipled man naturally. He considers him to be a man of strong imagination, but at the period when the play opens devoid of conscience, if he ever had any. "Neither conscience nor cowardice" causes his irresolution before Duncan's murder, but an imagination which reveals to him the whole after-results of his meditated act, and paralyzes him by threatening future insecurity. His influence over his wife has drawn her into the crime, and she only stimulates him when his resolution falters before the vision of consequences which she, womanlike, with her less vivid imagination, does not foresee. The murder is done, and with it his irresolution. For the imagination which before kept him inactive is now the cause

of his activity. None of the bloody sequelæ of his first sin take him by surprise or paralyze him (as they surprise and overwhelm his wife), for they were all anticipated. In facing the murder he faced them; in resolving on the murder he resolved on them; and when they come he is a prepared man. He proceeds without hesitation and without remorse, "more than an executioner might feel," in a career of bloodshed whose necessity he had foreshadowed, to a doom whose probability he had foreseen.

This, as we understand it, is Mr. Carr's opinion; and he explains that Shakespeare, in thus delineating his central characters, deliberately intended them "to be the embodiment and expression of the contrasted characteristics of sex" in the presence of crime. "The ideal motive of the drama lies in its contrast of the distinctive qualities of sex as these are developed under the pressure of a combined purpose and a common experience." Our means of knowing Shakespeare's purpose are like Mr. Carr's—*nil*; yet we will venture to say that Shakespeare never intended anything of the kind. He intended to develop as powerfully as he could a subject which had possessed his imagination, and that was all. We do not believe that Shakespeare ever addled his brain about such things as ideal motives. He left them to the dramatists of the nineteenth century, few of whose ideal motives will keep their plays as well preserved as Otway's "Venice," and that is but fly-blown. No doubt, in developing his subject he *has* exhibited the contrast in question. But to suppose this his motive is to suppose him born two centuries odd before his time. It is only this analytic, psychology-mongering, philosophizing age which thinks it can clothe with flesh the dry rib of an "ideal motive."

Having thus disputed Mr. Carr's postulate, let us, after his own example, take the play *seriatim*, and see how far it supports his thesis. ("At the first entrance of Macbeth" (as he says) "we are allowed to see that the thought of Duncan's death has already found a lodging in his heart." The indications are not, we think, by themselves conclusive; but, taken in conjunction with succeeding passages, they form a body of strong proof as to Shakespeare's intention. There are first the significant words of Banquo:

Good sir, why do you start, and seem to fear
Things that do sound so fair?

Why indeed, except that they echo Macbeth's own previous musings? Then follows the speech:

This supernatural soliciting
Cannot be ill; cannot be good: if ill,
Why hath it given me earnest of success,

Commencing in a truth ? I am thane of Cawdor.
If good, why do I yield to that suggestion
Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,
And make my seated heart knock at my ribs
Against the use of nature ? Present fears
Are less than horrible imaginings :
My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
Shakes so my single state of man, that function
Is smothered in surmise ; and nothing is
But what is not.

If this be interpreted as referring to a newly-suggested temptation, the rapidity, the absence of any real moral struggle with which Macbeth yields to it, would make him a far worse character than the opposite supposition that the idea is already familiar to him, and its moral horror thus abated. For, as Mr. Carr observes, "in the next scene, even while his grateful sovereign is loading him with honours, his dark purpose is seen to have taken still more defined shape" :

Stars, hide your fires !
Let not light see my black and deep desires !
The eye wink at the hand ! yet let that be
Which the eye fears when it is done to see.

But pass we on to the fifth and seventh scenes, where the points of contact and repulsion between Mr. Carr and ourselves develop simultaneously. With regard to the letter which Lady Macbeth enters reading, Mr. Carr says : " His written message to her contains no hint of murder." This is apparently true ; and her words in the seventh scene apparently refer to a previous communication of his design :

What beast was't then
That made you break this enterprise to me ?
When you durst do it, then you were a man ;
And to be more than what you were, you would
Be so much more the man. Nor time, nor place
Did then adhere, and yet you would make both :
They have made themselves, and that their fitness now
Does unmake you.

For other reasons, noticed by Mr. Carr, we hold with him that it does so refer ; but we would point out that the reference is not so intrinsically certain as it seems, nor is his observation regarding the " written message " such a self-evident fact as he thinks. What Lady Macbeth reads is manifestly only a portion of the letter, the beginning of which she is supposed to have read before her entry. It would therefore be quite feasible, and the theory would be quite in accordance with Shakespearian

methods, to hold that Macbeth was meant to have communicated his project in the former part of the letter, not read before the audience. In any case, his wife's words clearly show that Macbeth first proposed the crime: it is utterly impossible to evade this consequence. But though these things may be inconclusive, not so the words with which she follows the reading of the letter. As Mr. Carr says, they "have no meaning unless we suppose that the violent death of Duncan had long been the subject of conjugal debate":

Yet do I fear thy nature;
It is too full o' the milk of human kindness
To catch the nearest way: Thou wouldst be great;
Art not without ambition; but without
The illness should attend it. What thou wouldst highly
That thou wouldst holily; wouldst not play false,
And yet wouldst wrongly win: thou'dst have, great Glamis,
That which cries, "Thus thou must do if thou have it;
And that which rather thou dost fear to do
Than wishest should be undone." Hie thee hither,
That I may pour my spirits in thine ear;
And chastise with the valour of my tongue
All that impedes thee from the golden round
Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem
To have thee crowned withal.

This passage, and this passage alone, thoroughly decides us that Mr. Carr's view of the point in question is the only correct one. He proceeds: "She has watched the working of the poison in his breast, and has already anticipated the hesitation which he afterwards displays." And again, in a subsequent passage: "With the woman's finer instinct she has partly divined and anticipated his mood." It is most true; she shows in this passage an intimate marital knowledge of Macbeth's nature, which is confirmed by her conduct throughout the play; she knows precisely when to apply the goad, and when also to be silent; precisely what taunts will be most effectual with her soldierly husband, and when to use affection. Yet so seductive is the instinct of special pleading, that even an able critic like Mr. Carr, after paying this tribute to her intuitive knowledge of Macbeth in order to serve one purpose, can, in the very next sentence, affirm the defectiveness of that knowledge to serve another purpose. For, according to Mr. Carr, her "generous interpretation of his halting action" is a mistake; it is not in accordance with Macbeth's nature. That this able, quick-sighted, practical, and (according to Mr. Carr himself) not over-imaginative woman, should have been meant by Shakespeare to entertain a fond illusion with regard to her husband's nobility of nature is

a surprising idea, and not, we think, very complimentary to Shakespeare. What might not be the case with an individual woman of this character it is impossible to say, so strange are the vagaries of individual character. But Shakespeare, like a true artist, in his best work is rigidly attentive to the *probabilities* of character. It is only an artist of the Dickens stamp who will ascribe to a personage some curiously improbable act or incongruous trait, and then defend himself by saying that he once knew some one who was or acted exactly like that. Such oddities are interesting enough *as* oddities; but they have no place in characters designed to embody the prevalent truths of nature.* Now Mr. Carr himself would hardly, we think, deny the aptness of the epithets which we have applied to Lady Macbeth. And it is most unlikely that such a woman should so delude herself. It is only the somewhat foolish or weak women who credit their husbands (we do not say their lovers) with non-existent perfections. A sharp-sighted, clever woman may love her husband (as Macbeth is unquestionably loved by his wife), may exaggerate his excellencies to others, may not whisper his faults even to herself; but she knows them, and when calculating his action will instinctively reckon with his defects, and not credit him with absent virtues. That Lady Macbeth, therefore, should not know whether her husband naturally had or had not the milk of human kindness, was or was not without the illness that should attend ambition, did or did not desire to have honourably what he could only have with dishonour, appears to us an untenable idea, which it is difficult to believe, without some express confirmation in the text, that Shakespeare could have intended.

Again: it is rare to find in "Macbeth" a purposeless passage, we might almost say (were we not timorous of hasty generalizations) there is no such thing; yet, on Mr. Carr's supposition, the passage has no special bearing on the play. If Lady Macbeth be allowed to know what she is saying, it has. For—and Mr. Carr himself points it out—when the action of the drama commences, Macbeth's broodings, stimulated by the witches, have ceased to be greatly (not, as Mr. Carr says, entirely, and this we shall show) affected by scruples. Lady Macbeth's words, therefore, serve to reveal Macbeth's original disposition, which otherwise we could not certainly know; and thereby invest his career with an element of regretful interest such as could not attach to a mere unscrupulous man palsied in crime by his own selfish

* We do not say that a character of this sort should be *without* incongruities, should be as regular as a character in a Greek tragedy. But there are harmonious and non-harmonious incongruities.

fears. For this purpose they were probably inserted. The whole passage goes to show that she has already had trouble with his reluctance to bring to act the murder that is yet but fantastical, and does not for the first time chastise that reluctance with the valour of her tongue. It does not follow from this view of her speech that she considers her husband to be naturally a man of strong morality. We quite hold with Mr. Carr that Shakespeare never intended his hero for a man of much, if any, religious principle. The word "holily" as here used, has nothing to do with holiness in the theological sense. It simply signifies "without criminality;" and Lady Macbeth merely means that her husband, though a soldier, is not given by his original disposition to bloody courses, but is capable of compunction; and would gain his ends openly and honestly, being by nature straightforward; that, in fact, he is, in Antony's phrase, "an honourable man." And over many an honourable man religion has little more than a theoretical influence. Lastly, note in this speech, for the side-light it throws on Lady Macbeth's own character, the words:

Art not without ambition; but without
The illness should attend it.

This opinion, casually dropped in self-communing, that ambition ought to be attended by unscrupulousness, is quite in harmony with her subsequent utterance to Macbeth, which might otherwise be considered a mere dramatic utterance for his stimulation:

When you durst do it, then you were a man;
And to be more than what you were, you would
Be so much more the man;

and both are the language of a naturally unscrupulous woman.

Macbeth's entrance at the close of the scene brings her character still further to light. Macbeth has suggested to her the idea of the murder; she suggests to him its actual accomplishment. When he wrote the letter he had no settled plan, for he knew not of Duncan's visit to his castle. In the interim between his first learning Duncan's intention and the meeting with Lady Macbeth, it has occupied his mind: the brief, evasive replies which he makes to his wife, the replies of a troubled mind, show this; but they show also that he is unresolved. Not so Lady Macbeth. To his information, "Duncan comes here to-night," she replies significantly, "And when goes hence?" "To-morrow, as he purposes," is Macbeth's answer, and she instantly rejoins:

O never
Shall sun that morrow see!

She takes the initiative at once, and in spite of her husband's

irresolute "We will speak further," insists that he shall leave the whole organization of the plot in her hands, contenting himself with presenting a fair countenance to the guests :

You shall put
This night's great business into my despatch ;
Which shall to all our nights and days to come
Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom.

Observe the last two lines, with the expression, "to all *our* nights and days." Mr. Carr contends that she is moved to the crime solely by marital devotion. But conjoin with these lines her words after the coronation :

Nought's had, all's spent,
When our desire is got without content :
'Tis safer to be that which we destroy
Than by destruction dwell in doubtful joy.

and we think it will be suggested that she, too, had her ambitious hopes which turned to ashes. Marital affection, if you like, played its part ; but ambition also. It is only natural that so able and energetic a woman should not be indifferent to the prospect of becoming queen.

Upon the opening of the seventh scene is almost founded Mr. Carr's conception of Macbeth. For here occurs the soliloquy on which he relies to show that Macbeth's imagination presents to him beforehand all the consequences of his act, and so prepares him for the necessary sequent crimes ; to show also that it is the fears for his own future security which this imaginative vision awakens, and not any lingering scruples, which shake his purpose. With this object Mr. Carr quotes two passages, nearly the whole soliloquy :

If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well
It were done quickly : if the assassination
Could trammel up the consequence, and catch,
With his surcease, success ; that but this blow
Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
But here, upon this bank and shoal of time,
We'd jump the life to come. But in these cases,
We still have judgment here ; that we but teach
Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
To plague the inventor : this even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice
To our own lips.

And again he quotes :

His virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking-off :

And pity, like a naked new-born babe,
Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubin, horsed
Upon the sightless couriers of the air,
Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,
That tears shall drown the wind.

There is certainly no trace of scruple here, or of anything except such fears as Mr. Carr speaks of. And for a very excellent reason. Mr. Carr has taken order to the contrary :

He's here in double trust :
First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed ; then, as his host,
Who should against his murderer shut the door,
Not bear the knife myself.

This inconvenient little passage, which shows that Macbeth is even yet accessible to scruples of honour, though not of morality, Mr. Carr has somehow omitted. Then, as to Macbeth's supposed full vision of consequences, what do the passages quoted by Mr. Carr show ? What does Macbeth foresee in them ? That he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword ; that he who gains the throne by blood may lose it by blood, by assassination, or revolt ; that the murder will arouse against him universal execration. No more. Not a word to show that he foresees the necessity for further murders on his part ; for the murder of Banquo, or Macduff. He foresees that his throne will be insecure, but not the sanguinary measures by which he will be gradually drawn on to uphold it.

This power of anticipating consequence Mr. Carr ascribes to imagination. Surely, however, it is not imagination, as Mr. Carr calls it, but prevision—a faculty often possessed in a high degree by men without the imaginative faculty ; a gift generally found associated with the governing mind, and dependent on the dry intellect. It is a faculty exercised by the First Lord of the Admiralty every time he calculates how many unmanœuvrable ships will restore the supremacy of Trafalgar ; and we hope none will think of accusing a First Naval Lord of imagination. A First Naval Lord with an imagination would shoot himself a week after taking office. Macbeth is strongly imaginative, but we learn it rather from the general cast of his speeches, and the wild flights in which he indulges immediately after the assassination. But setting this aside, Mr. Carr is certainly right in ascribing to this prevision the major part of his hesitation. In the ensuing scene with Lady Macbeth he alleges as his first reason for refusing to proceed with their scheme the honours in which he has been invested, and the good opinion in which he is held. He will not sacrifice these things when he has just won

them. And he is so far from resolving to face the consequences of his crime that he would apparently have remained firm in his refusal had not his wife opened to him the prospect of evading those consequences. It is not until she suggests that the murder can be made to appear the work of Duncan's grooms that he yields. This belief that he can commit the crime and yet escape its infamy, that he can gain the throne without sacrificing his security or the goodwill of his fellow-men, produces an instant revulsion in his mind;

I am settled, and bend up
Each corporal agent to this terrible feat,

and the deed is immediately decided on. This in itself shows how far he is from that complete prevision of consequences with which Mr. Carr endows him. He could not have foreseen the necessity for the murder of Banquo. Had he foreseen it, he would have known that although he escaped the imputation of his crime, and so retained his fellow-soldier's friendship, the necessity would still remain. For the menace was not from Banquo, but from his offspring.

After the murder, as Mr. Carr truly says, the relative positions of Macbeth and his wife are altered. But we cannot altogether agree with him as to the causes of the alteration. "She, who had foreseen nothing, is thrown back upon the past, her dormant imagination now terribly alert, and picturing to her broken spirit all the horrors she had previously ignored." True; though as to that "dormant imagination" we shall have a word to say later. "As the penalty of his crime is unrelenting action, her heavier doom is isolated despair; and it is significant to observe that it is she who suffers most acutely all the moral torments he had only anticipated for himself." All true, though not all the truth. But Mr. Carr would have us believe that she quails before the prospect of further crime, and supports this opinion by what we cannot but think ingenious special-pleading. "The change," he goes on, "is already well-marked in the scene immediately following the murder, when . . . she sinks appalled at the dark vista of unending crime which his readiness in resource now first opens to her view." This interpretation of Lady Macbeth's fainting-fit is surely the most special of special-pleading. For it appears more than doubtful whether her faint should not be spelled with an "e" instead of an "a." He is inaccessible to her remorse, says Mr. Carr, and she can take no part "in those darker projects with which he seeks to buttress the tottering fabric of his ambition." Let us see. But first note that in scene 1 of Act iii. Macbeth speaks of the necessity for Banquo's death. There is not an indication in the

text that he perceived this necessity before Duncan's murder. Then comes, in scene 2, an interview with his queen. As Mr. Carr shows, she is ignorant that he has resolved to destroy Banquo, and attributes his moodiness solely to remorse. Yet, when he discloses to her his dread of Banquo and Banquo's son, she instantly suggests their murder, as she suggested the opportunity for Duncan's murder :

O, full of scorpions is my mind, dear wife !
Thou know'st that Banquo, and his Fleance, live.

And she rejoins quickly, significantly :

But in them Nature's copy's not eterne.

To emphasize the significance of her words, Shakespeare makes Macbeth at once catch her meaning, and reply :

There's comfort yet ; they are assailable ;
Then be thou jocund.

If she remain ignorant of the actual measure he has already taken for the assassination, it is because he chooses to spare her the knowledge where he does not need her advice. Throughout the banquet scene, according to Mr. Carr, she believes that he is haunted "as she is haunted" by the vision of Duncan. Nothing in the text shows it, but, since she is ignorant that Banquo's death has been accomplished, Shakespeare very probably meant her so to think. But we knew already that he had kept her ignorant of the murder ; and ignorance is not inability to comprehend. Even when after the banquet he declares the necessity of engaging boldly in bloodshed, "she listens without understanding," says Mr. Carr (doubtless, for he still refrains from mentioning the news regarding Banquo), and "answers him from the sleepless anguish of her own soul" :

You lack the season of all natures, sleep.

As if the *sleepless* wife did not know whether or not her husband slept ! Besides, Macbeth, in the previous scene but one, has mentioned "the affliction of these terrible dreams that shake us nightly ;" and a man so afflicted has either broken sleep, or such sleep as is indeed no sleep. But to the assertion that she can take no part in his darker projects, the suggestion of Banquo's murder is surely in itself sufficient answer. It is not because she cannot share them that she does not share them ; it is because Macbeth no longer needs her stimulation or counsel.

From this point to the drama's end there is little or no question of controversy : the action of the play becomes obvious. Let us, then, sum up the conclusions to which we are led from the study of the text with Mr. Carr's observations on it.

In his review of Lady Macbeth's character, Mr. Carr quotes (apparently with approbation) a curious commentary on her probable personal appearance by Mrs. Siddons, who thought of her as "fair, feminine, nay, perhaps even fragile." The description is possibly a little staggering, till we reflect that it would almost apply to Becky Sharp. Whether Shakespeare imagined her light or dark is the purest matter of fancy; but personally we have small doubt that he conceived her as a little woman. Most of the magnetic women who influence the world are so. Cleopatra, we feel sure, was a little woman, and not particularly good-looking. For wit and beauty, though man often joins together, heaven has for the most part kept asunder. We have thus an equitable adjustment of gifts. Some women are pleasant to look at, some pleasant to speak with, and some, it is said, even pleasant to live with. Pleasant to live with Lady Macbeth doubtless was—for Macbeth. She could clearly love those she loved, though no tender woman in the general relations of life. Little we have fancied her: Shakespeare has drawn her nervous, fiery, energetic, able, unscrupulous; yet with the natural affections of a woman, and those natural affections strong, though only for her own; not a gentle woman, yet no fiend. You may meet such women, so restlessly energetic, so able, so independent, yet capable of submitting to one strong nature; affectionate where they fix affection, though not at all of what we call an affectionate nature; and capable of scorn masculine in vigour, feminine in keenness, even towards their beloved ones, where those beloved one's weaknesses rouse their contempt, or thwart their cherished schemes. They may be either scrupulous or unscrupulous, according to training and their own will. And Lady Macbeth Shakespeare has drawn without a single scruple, and with but one momentary visiting of womanly compunction at the sight of Duncan. A *womanly* woman she is not. That she should be essentially womanly is no logical complement of the truth that she is not essentially unwomanly. When we call a woman womanly, we imply a gentleness of nature absent in Lady Macbeth. That because man or woman has the natural instincts of affection for mate or child or parent, he or she is not ruthless by nature, that the lioness will not prey because she gambols with her cubs—against this doctrine we protest. Ruthless in the literal sense of the term perhaps they are not. But, in ordinary parlance, we mean by a ruthless individual, not one who is insensible to the emotion of pity, but one who in the pursuit of his or her ends can and does disregard it at will.

She embraces Macbeth's plan partly because she is ambitious for him, partly because it appeals to her own ambition, and altogether because she is unscrupulous. A man does not break a

plan of murder to his wife unless he believes her to have no strong principle, and no weak pity. Let those who think her a gentle-natured woman compare her language to her husband with the language of a character to whom no such suspicion can attach—Dionyza in "Pericles." The taunts which Dionyza addresses to her husband might have come straight from the mouth of Lady Macbeth. No gentle nature could forge such language. And Lady Macbeth's taunts, we think, are not meant to be merely dramatic stimulants. His weakness (for such it appears to a mind which thinks that "illness" should accompany ambition) really moves her impatience and contempt. The murder done, she sinks, as Mr. Carr says, under the remorse which she had not foreseen, the terrors of her insecure throne, and the constant accumulation of her husband's crimes. But why does she so sink? Why are these things more fatal to her than to Macbeth? Not merely because her woman's physical system was necessarily weaker than the man's. Not because she had not provisioned her guilty tortures; for there is not a line to show that Macbeth had provisioned his. They neither foresee their mental sufferings. We all know theoretically the retributive pangs which nature herself sets upon the heels of sin; but when we admit temptation to the mind, we either forget them, or dismiss them with a fatuous belief that we shall not suffer as others have suffered,

All this the world well knows, yet none knows well
To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell,

as Shakespeare says of other sin. Nor is it because, as Mr. Carr says, "the woman's nature surrenders itself more completely to the passion of remorse." It is because Macbeth, the man, the ruler, can find some distraction in acting, though the act be but fresh crime, in the planning of action, and the cares of state; while she, the woman, is left alone, without occupation sufficient to withdraw her for a moment from her awful broodings. This, and not a nature less hard in crime than his, explains and amply explains it all. Macbeth himself, so situated, must either have maddened or died,

We remarked upon Mr. Carr's expression, "her dormant imagination." It is a small matter, but as it completes character we may notice it. Lady Macbeth has no imagination. Shakespeare has marked this very clearly; and it is the one point on which he has made her unable to understand her husband. When Macbeth, fresh from Duncan's murder, is venting the wild strainings of his excited imagination, her amazed exclamation "What do you mean?" would be almost comic if the situation were less terrible. The fact is that Shakespeare had

small belief in women's imagination; he has given us few women who are really imaginative, though they may make poetical speeches. But even Octavius Cæsar sometimes thaws into poetry. And Shakespeare knew what he was doing: the Turk was only a little astray when he said that women had no souls, for most of them have no imaginations. As far as that goes, a good half of their brethren have no more imagination than they can safely carry without rupturing their brain-cells; and for three-quarters of the other half—if the lover be of imagination all compact, their ladies may confidently accuse them of perjury.

In regard to Macbeth's character, the points in which we differ from Mr. Carr have been largely noticed during our review of the text. His natural disposition is that of a soldier, bold, decided, instant in action, accustomed to go straight and openly to his object. Though he has an imagination, and a strong one, he is not originally what is generally called a man of imagination, a man given to reverie or cloudiness; but, on the contrary, essentially a man of action. It was to strike this essential warrior-note in his character, no less than to show the estimation in which he was held, that Shakespeare, as we think, probably wrote the opening description of his valour in the battle. As regards his moral character, we have already stated our conviction, founded largely on that speech of Lady Macbeth's which Mr. Carr slights. Of strongly religious nature, like Banquo, he never could have been; but he was what ordinarily passed for good, of a noble, though mundane disposition.

Moral scruples cannot restrain him; they must have given way before he broached Duncan's murder to his wife, and by the time the drama opens he has completely set them aside, has resolved to jump the life to come. But honourable scruples, as we have seen, still have their weight with him, and once had more, if Lady Macbeth may be believed. And, as is not unnatural in a man who once had much of the "milk of human kindness," he prizes highly the love and esteem of his fellows. It is this, even more than the dread of an insecure throne; it is the thought of the execration to which he will expose himself, the safe honours, the "golden opinions" which he must exchange for insecure obloquy, that most powerfully operates to make a vacillating ruminator of this naturally bold man; even as it is the loss of these things—"honour, love, obedience, troops of friends"—which moves him most at the close of his career. It is but the close of his mental struggle that we see in the play; but we can judge the severity of what has gone before by the severity of what remains. Such a struggle is enough to make a falterer of the hardest man. Mr. Carr compares his hesitation with that

of Hamlet, and remarks that the speculations of the one are confined to this world, while Hamlet's indecision is caused by his brooding on the mysteries of the other world. We do not agree with the remark in respect to Hamlet, and the difference lies deeper than is stated by Mr. Carr. The principal cause of Hamlet's irresolution is that he is irresolute. He is constitutionally dreamy and averse to action. Macbeth, on the other hand, is a man of action rendered temporarily vacillating by a terrible mental conflict. Hamlet seeks pretexts to avoid action; Macbeth seeks to break down the barriers which restrain him from action. Hamlet is introspective and self-analyzing; Macbeth's calculations are nearly all with respect to external and practical consequences.

The murder is done, and he ceases to waver. Not because he has foreseen all the issue of his crime (we have shown that in the text he foresees only a few general results), but because the decisive mental conflict once over, *the* resolution once taken and executed, his nature rebounds like a slackened bow to its natural determined temper. He faces all the sequelæ of his crime as a commander, once having decided to give battle, accepts and meets all the chances of the battle. Thenceforward he sets his face towards crime as he was accustomed to set it towards fight; and the witches' counsel, as Mr. Carr excellently says, only serves to intensify a desperation already fixed. The splendid hardihood of the man, as Mr. Carr again truly observes, rises to absolute grandeur in the final scenes. It is impossible to withhold admiration from his fine scorn of "the Roman fool;" and admiration swells almost into sympathy when, at the very culmination of his ruin, though Birnam Wood is come to Dunsinane, though the doomsman of prophecy confronts him, he will not yield, nor die other than the warrior he has lived; though the summons to surrender come from the lips of armed Destiny, he will yet oppose to the last against her invisible arm his unquailing arm of flesh. Such a being had indeed that in him which might well dominate, as—except for that one interregnum of mental turmoil—dominate it did, even the fiery energy of his wife.

FRANCIS THOMPSON.

ART. IX.—MENTAL EVOLUTION IN MAN.

Mental Evolution in Man. By GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A.,
F.R.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

THE idea of considering the mental faculty in man as the direct outcome of a similar faculty in the higher animals, is not a new one. Sometimes, it has been attempted to show that animals were intelligent, just as man is; and, sometimes, that man's intelligence was merely the animal faculty intensified, and no more. But the aim was always the same—namely, to prove that between human and animal intelligence, the difference is not one of kind but only of degree. This view has been raised to the dignity of a doctrine by a number of philosophers whose particular tenets required logically such a conclusion. Thus, there appeared in the early part of the last century a book entitled, "That Animals often reason better than Men."* The views of Condillac, of Montaigne, of Frederick Cuvier, on the same subject are well-known. On the other hand, we find in the Cartesian philosophy a notion of animal operations totally different, but equally false and no less pernicious in its consequences. We confess that the views of Descartes on this matter have always appeared to us as one of the most splendid examples of what the "esprit de système" can lead men to. His views, at one time so warmly entertained, have not stood successfully the test of modern biological investigation, and the theory that animals are non-sentient machines is not likely to find defenders at the present day. No one amongst us has rejected the notion with more energy than Professor Huxley himself, and we take it for granted that the doctrines of Lammetrie, as proposed in his famous book, "L'homme Machine," published at Leyden in 1748, have also failed to create disciples. But the opinions thus formerly entertained by philosophers are now practically superseded by a doctrine which, although similar in its tenor and its tendencies, has, nevertheless, assumed an entirely new aspect on account of the ground upon which it is at present made to rest. It will not be the fault of the modern school of thought if our age is not known to future generations as the Age of Evolution. Every department of human activity is being studied in the light of the new theory, and in every department it is enthusiastically

* "Quod Animalia bruta sæpe ratione utantur melius homine." Libri duo, a Rorario, Helmstadii. 1728.

declared to be "all but verified." Thus, Dr. Romanes, in the work which we are considering in this paper, does not hesitate to say:

In the present treatise I take as granted the general theory of evolution, so far as it is now accepted by the vast majority of naturalists. That is to say, I assume the doctrine of descent as regards the whole of organic nature, morphological and psychological, with the one exception of man. Moreover, I assume this doctrine even in the case of man, so far as his bodily organization is concerned, it being thus only with reference to the human mind that the exception to which I have alluded is made. And I make this exception in deference to the opinion of that small minority of evolutionists who still maintain that, notwithstanding their acceptance of the theory of descent as regards the corporeal constitution of man, they are able to adduce cogent evidence to prove that the theory fails to account for his mental constitution. . . . Whether we have regard to actual history, to tradition, to antiquarian remains, or flint implements, we obtain uniform evidence of a continuous process of upward development, which is thus seen to be as characteristic of those additional attributes wherein the human mind now surpasses that of any other species, as it is of those attributes which it shares with other species. Therefore, if the process of mental evolution was interrupted between the anthropoid apes and primitive man during the pre-historic period of which we have no record, it must again have been resumed with primitive man, after which it must have continued as uninterruptedly in the human species as it previously did in the animal species. This, to say the least, is a most improbable supposition. The law of continuity is proved to apply on both sides of a psychological interval, when there happens to be a necessary absence of historical information. Yet we are asked to believe that, in curious coincidence with this interval, the law of continuity was violated, notwithstanding that in the case of every individual mind such is known never to be the case. In order to overturn so immense a presumption as is thus raised against the contention of my opponents on merely *à priori* grounds, it appears to me that they must be fairly called upon to supply some very powerful considerations of an *à posteriori* kind, tending to show that there is something in the constitution of the human mind which renders it virtually impossible to suppose that such an order of mental existence can have proceeded by way of genetic descent from minds of lower orders.*

In justice to Mr. Romanes, this somewhat long quotation was necessary in order to place his own argument fairly before our readers. Nor can we proceed much further with the examination of his proofs, without first stating briefly our own attitude in respect to the doctrines which he assumes as the universally accepted groundwork of his whole contention. We begin by

* "Mental Evolution," pp. 390-392.

respectfully declining to acknowledge that, at the present moment, the doctrine of evolution, as a form of more or less modified Darwinism, has acquired such claims to our intellectual allegiance that we are in any way bound to accept the doctrine as practically proved, and, therefore, as justly assumed in the argument now before us. How we could be bound to do so is inconceivable to us in presence of the admissions of Mr. Romanes himself, in the last chapter of his work :—

Looking to all that has now been said [he writes], I cannot help feeling that there is actually better evidence of a psychological transition from the brute to the man than there is of a morphological transition from one organic form to another in any of the still numerous instances where the intermediate links do not happen to have been preserved. Thus, for example, in my opinion an evolutionist of to-day who seeks to constitute the human mind a great exception to the otherwise uniform principle of genetic continuity, has an even more hopeless case than he would have were he to argue that a similar exception ought to be made with regard to the structure of the worm-like creature *Balanoglossus*.*

Now, in the same chapter, almost on the same page, Mr. Romanes tells us, with becoming moderation, that all he claims for his view (of the transition from the brute to the man) is *probability* (p. 436). And he adds, as if he felt the damaging nature of such an admission :—

Of course, it is always easy to withhold assent from a probability, however strong, . . . but if, as Bishop Butler says, "probability is the very guide of life," assuredly no less is it the very guide of science; and here, I submit, we are in the presence of a probability so irresistible that to withhold from it the embrace of conviction would be no longer indicative of scientific caution but of scientific incapacity.†

How a probability can be *irresistible* and yet remain a probability is a question which we must leave to logicians to settle with Mr. Romanes. The point with which we are at present concerned is this. The learned author asserts that there is even greater evidence for the psychological transition (by evolution) from the brute to the man than for the morphological transition from one organic form to another (also, of course, by evolution), at least in very many cases. But, by his own confession, there is only probability in favour of the former view. We ask, then, what can be, in his mind, the value of the proof in favour of the latter. Surely it cannot amount to more than a probability, by his own showing. If our reasoning be correct, then we ask our candid readers to judge for themselves whether it is prudent, logical,

* "Mental Evolution," p. 437.

† *Ibid.* p. 437.

reasonable, on the part of the author to assume as granted, for a basis of his whole contention, a doctrine in his own eyes even less strictly demonstrable than another for which he is barely able to claim probability? We sincerely hope that we are not taking any unfair advantage in thus reducing Mr. Romanes' words to something like a strict form of scholastic argumentation. But surely, if his position is tenable at all, it ought to be able to stand that.

Of his quotation from Bishop Butler we wish also to say one word. "Probability is the very guide of life." Quite so; but what must we think of Mr. Romanes' assertion that it is also the guide of science? Probability is the guide of life—that is, in all practical matters where a determination must be taken by us in spite of the doubtful nature or the obscurity of the facts, laws, or conditions to be taken into account in our decision. The very necessities of the case make probability our guide in coming to a conclusion. But is it true that probability is also the guide of science? We admit that we are often morally obliged to *act* even in presence of conflicting doubts, but are we ever obliged to *know* even in the absence of that amount of evidence which the human intellect requires to have certainty? We fear Mr. Romanes is not distinguishing sufficiently here between probability, which may, indeed, prove valuable in providing us with a working theory, and certainty which alone suffices as a safe foundation for scientific facts. Probability affords presumptions and nothing more. But science, properly so called, cannot come to conclusions on such grounds. Hence Mr. Romanes can scarcely be excused when he presumes to say that "to withhold from his 'probable' views the embrace of conviction is no longer indicative of scientific caution but of scientific incapacity." He ought to remember that probability in scientific matters is the very ground upon which the scientific man is bound to tread with the utmost caution, if he is truly conscious of the dignity of his calling and of his responsibilities. Scientific incapacity, on the contrary, is usually loud in its assertions, and easily satisfied with its own arguments. The truly learned man has learnt to ignore patiently; the man of learning, falsely so called, has that great wisdom to acquire besides the knowledge of a great many other things which he fancies he understands.

But to return to our subject: what should be our attitude towards the evolution theory which in these days appears to form the necessary groundwork of most scientific books and of so many books of fiction? Some of our readers may perhaps entertain doubts as to the prudence of a reviewer who raises such a question when he could quietly have passed it by. But we feel that such reserve on our part would be unjustifiable on this occasion. Mr. Romanes, by staking his whole argument upon an

assumption, forces upon us the necessity of saying clearly and honestly what we think of his assumption. It will be remembered that in the long quotation given above our author insists very strongly upon what he calls, with many of his own school, the law of continuity. If the process of mental evolution (so runs his argument) was interrupted between the anthropoid apes and primitive man, and then resumed after the appearance of the latter upon the earth, then the law of continuity has been violated. Now, the first remark we must make here is, that this law of continuity can only be called in true scientific language a law, on condition that it be found to rest upon a certain number of assured facts. At least such is the method universally adopted by physicists, chemists, mineralogists, astronomers, &c. &c. But, *teste* Mr. Romanes, the facts of organic evolution are only highly probable. This law of continuity, of which he speaks so confidently, can only be, therefore, highly probable also, to say the most of it. Perhaps it is no law at all. Such a law of continuity, as our readers are aware, would imply an uninterrupted sequence of phenomena of which each one is immediately and essentially conditioned by the series of phenomena that precede it, while it is itself conditioning in its turn the phenomena which come after it in the same series. A true evolutionist, such as Mr. Romanes professes to be, cannot defend his system except on the assumption that there exists such a law of continuity in nature, to which nature knows no exception. Such a law must therefore be asserted.

Yet if we turn from the high region of theories to the lowland of facts, what do we find? First, a survey of the frontiers between the inorganic and the organic in nature leaves us absolutely in ignorance respecting a law of continuity. Between any mineral element and even the most elementary living being, the humblest unicellular plant, for instance, nothing has been found by the help of which science can formulate with anything like certainty a law of continuity. There is no proved case on record of spontaneous generation out of mere inorganic elements. *Omne vivum ex vivo* is the only law, properly so-called, which the leading scientific men of our time have been able to formulate as the result of their investigations on the origin of life upon our globe.* How life began they cannot tell with any

* We are quite unable to understand on what logical grounds Mr. Mivart ("On Truth," p. 501) bases his opinion that there is *probable* truth in the assumption that "in some early condition of the world, which has not yet been reproduced by experiment, living organisms did spontaneously come into being."

degree of probability. They can afford no solution whatever of that mighty problem. We must therefore insist that the evolutionists' law of continuity, at any rate, does not apply to this stage of our inquiry. We are fully justified in asserting, if we are so inclined, that life, even in its lowest manifestations, represents the introduction of a principle—distinct from matter, superior to it, although depending on it for the successive manifestations of its inner activity. We see no law of continuity here, but, on the contrary, an interval which inorganic matter left to itself could never have bridged over.

If the Author of nature willed matter to become elaborated by vital processes, He must, as far as we can see (and our opponents can really see nothing against it), have created that life, as He had before created matter. In studying plants and animals we never meet with any gradations between living and non-living substances. When we meet with living beings, no matter how low on the scale of life, we find the vital act in them perfect in its characters, complete in its unity. Seeing, then, that the so-called law of continuity can in no way be scientifically established at one end of the mighty chain of beings, we are prepared to doubt how far it can be proved to be verified at the other end of the same chain; and, far from being able to admit so hastily with Mr. Romanes and his friends that such and such things must be true because otherwise the law of continuity would be violated, we are, on the contrary, inclined to disbelieve the truth of conclusions resting mainly upon the existence of a law which we strongly suspect of being no law at all, when the universe is considered as a whole, however true that law may be when confined within the narrower limits of certain series of beings.

Our philosophy, unable to grasp the idea of an eternal existence of finite things, and equally unable to adopt the Pantheistic creed in any of its protean shapes, is logically driven to admit that when God created matter, that matter was not connected with any antecedent finite material existence by any law of continuity. This prepares us to admit also that life, as manifested to us here by palæontology in the past, and by botany and zoology in the present, represents another divine operation, and that while requiring the previous existence of matter for its manifestations, it was in no way founded upon any physical law of continuity for its first appearance. Modern science can prove no more. Again, passing over the vast sea of living things, we find one being of whom we can say and realize so much more than we can of any other beings, because he is one of ourselves. Man has, indeed, much in common with the animal forms beneath him, not only as regards his bodily frame, but also as regards his mental faculties. Yet in several particulars he discovers within himself

powers without parallel in the animal kingdom, which constitute him an intellectual, a free, a moral being. All these attributes are radicated in a principle of life no less distinct from that of brutes than are those attributes themselves from the psychical capabilities of the same brutes. That principle of life, our philosophy teaches us, is not related to the vital principle even of the highest animals by a law of continuity, any more than organic life is connected with inorganic substances by such a law. It represents, therefore, a distinct creative act.

Yet, it may be objected, does not the marvellous harmony between all the parts of the universe, does not the extraordinary relation that subsists between the morphological and physiological characters of the various classes of living beings, produce almost necessarily in us the impression that some such law of continuity is acting uninterruptedly throughout the length and breadth of the Cosmos? And our philosophy does not leave us without some answer to such an objection. We acknowledge, indeed, with wonder and with filial love, that law of continuity which is but another name for the eternally-conceived plan of this universe in the Divine Mind of its Author, a plan in which all the parts are harmoniously, some of the parts necessarily, connected with each other; a plan which is also a key to the successive unfolding of the design, although in no way the adequate expression of a necessary dependence between all its elements.

This is our attitude towards evolution taken as a whole, and we know nothing actually proved in modern science that renders our attitude either antiquated or unreasonable. If it be further asked, whether we therefore reject any kind of evolution as possible or probable? we may perhaps venture to give the following qualified answer:—

If, as we have shown, evolution, in the sense of a transition from minerals to living beings, or from the brutes to man, rests at present upon no really scientific foundation, it must, however, be admitted that all idea of evolution, as a law of nature, is not without foundation in nature itself. Many facts from morphology, from physiology, from palæontology, from a consideration of the laws of heredity, from a close study of variations in plants and animals, &c. &c., tend to confirm the view that within certain limits there is a natural process of development or evolution by which the elaboration and slow transformation of specific types are directed and determined. At any rate, this view, taken merely as a working hypothesis, has proved fruitful in many ways in the hands of modern naturalists, and it would be equally ungrateful and unscientific to refuse to recognize the many valuable discoveries made in our own times by the help of

that hypothesis. The exaggerations for which it has supplied a basis, should not blind us to the importance of many facts now finally added to the sum total of our real biological knowledge. Whether that hypothesis be really the expression of a true law, it is yet impossible to say; but if this should finally prove to be the case, we shall gladly welcome the new discovery as another means supplied to us for understanding better the divine plan in nature, and for acknowledging with greater force how every detail in the unfolding of that plan is worthy of the wisdom from which it originated. If the doctrine of evolution, under the limitations we have indicated, should at last become a proved fact, it would not, at any rate, remove the great landmarks of which we have already spoken. But it might render clearer and more beautiful our knowledge of the celestial motions, of the molecular operations of matter, of the intensely interesting phenomena of plant life and animal life.* Such a discovery would not lessen the difficulties of those who try to build a world without a Creator, for it would leave our great landmarks absolutely standing and safe, and science would have to acknowledge that nature, as we have it here before our eyes, postulates at least three terms of creative action: inorganic matter, living matter, and the rational soul. Evolution may be found to operate within those limits, but it will never obliterate them. Certainly, in spite of Mr. Romanes' efforts, the last and highest of those limits, the rational soul, remains unaffected by the science of to-day. This we must now endeavour to show upon the very ground which Mr. Romanes has chosen for his attack.

Mr. Romanes states clearly the question which he professes to solve:—

The problem [he says] which in this generation has, for the first time, been presented to human thought, is the problem of how this thought itself has come to be. A question of the deepest importance to every system of philosophy has been raised by the study of biology; and it is the question whether the mind of man is essentially the same as the mind of the lower animals, or, having had, either wholly or in part, some other mode of origin, is essentially distinct—differing not only in degree but in kind from all other types of psychical being. And forasmuch as upon this great and deeply interesting question, opinions are still much divided—even among those most eminent in the walks of science who agree in accepting the principles of evolution as applied to explain the mental constitution of the lower animals—it is evident that the question is neither a superficial nor an easy one (p. 3).

* See S. Aug. 5 Super Gen. ad lit. (Cap. S. et lib. 8 Cap. 3), and cf. S. Thom. Summa Theol. Prim. part. quæst. lxi. art 2.

His position thus defined, Mr. Romanes at once proceeds to discuss and classify ideas, and he has coined for the purpose a number of new terms, which, however ingeniously devised, fail to render the subject perfectly clear. When dealing with such terms as "abstract idea," "general idea," "concrete idea," he is particularly vague, and altogether leaves us under the impression that those terms do not convey to his mind a very definite meaning. We find ourselves obliged, to put the reader in possession of the question at issue, to quote once more Mr. Romanes' own words:—

All the higher animals have general ideas—of "good-for-eating" and "not-good-for-eating," quite apart from any particular objects of which either of these qualities happens to be characteristic. For, if we give any of the higher animals a morsel of food of a kind which it has never before met with, the animal does not immediately snap it up, nor does it immediately reject our offer; but it subjects the morsel to a careful examination before consigning it to the mouth. This proves, if anything can, that such an animal has a general or abstract idea of sweet, bitter, hot, or in general good-for-eating and not-good-for-eating, the motives of the examination clearly being to ascertain which of these two general ideas of kind is appropriate to the particular object examined. . . . Again, if I see a fox prowling about a farmyard, I infer that he has been led by hunger to go where he has a general idea that there are a good many eatable things to be fallen in with, just as I myself am led by a similar impulse to visit a restaurant. Similarly, if I say to my dog the word "cat," I arouse in his mind an idea, not of any cat in particular—for he sees so many cats—but of a cat in general. Or, when this same dog accidentally crosses the track of a strange dog, the scent of this strange dog makes him stiffen his tail and erect the hair on his back in preparation for a fight, yet the scent of an unknown dog must arouse in his mind, not the idea of any dog in particular, but an idea of the animal dog in general.*

This passage is rather characteristic of the precision of language of our author, and we could quote many others, which are still more so, although he does not hesitate to state in the course of the argument, "that a great deal of needless misunderstanding may be removed by a slight adjustment and a closer definition of terms." His use of the word "Idea" is decidedly peculiar. He defines it "a generic term to signify indifferently any product of the imagination, from the mere memory of a sensuous impression up to the result of the most abstruse generalization," so that the following classification of ideas is the result:—

1. By "simple idea," "particular idea," "concrete idea," is meant the mere memory of a particular sensuous perception.

* "Mental Evolution," pp. 27, 28.

2. By "compound idea," "complex idea," or "mixed idea," is meant the combination of simple, particular, or concrete ideas, into that kind of composite idea which is possible without the aid of language.

3. By "general idea," "abstract idea," "concept," "notion," is meant that kind of composite idea which is rendered possible only by the aid of language, or by the process of naming abstractions as abstractions.

The reader will at once perceive how difficult it is to make sure of the author's meaning, in spite of his efforts to remove "needless misunderstanding" by "a slight adjustment" of terms. In the passage just quoted we were assured that all the higher animals have *general ideas*, at any rate general ideas of "good-for-eating" and "not-good-for-eating." But in the author's classification we see that "general ideas" are such as are rendered possible only by the aid of language, or by the process of naming abstractions as abstractions. We are told, however, on page 38, that such a difficulty has been met. "The ideas good-for-eating and not-good-for-eating," remarks Mr. Romanes, "are as general to an animal as they are to a man, and have in each case been found in the same way—namely, by an accumulation of particular experiences spontaneously assorted in consciousness." The author is, however, unwilling to use the term "general idea" here, seeing that by usage it has become restricted to those higher products of ideation which depend on the faculty of language. He, therefore, has determined to speak of such general ideas as are found without the aid of language as *generic*. This term, besides retaining a verbal as well as a substantial analogy with the allied form generally, has also, in Mr. Romanes' eyes, the additional advantage of serving to indicate "that generic ideas are not only ideas of class or kind, but have been *generated* from the intermixture of individual ideas—i.e., from the blended memories of particular percepts." This is the way by which Mr. Romanes is preparing to initiate us into the mysteries of animal and human psychology, and to make us realize the full identity which subsists between the *generic ideas* of dogs and men! When so many fundamental errors are deliberately taught, we feel it would be scarcely excusable for us to quarrel with the author about mere words; but we may be permitted to doubt either the propriety or the wisdom of thus altering the traditional meaning of philosophical ideas upon one's own authority. To call a *generic idea* one that has been *generated* from the blended memories of particular percepts, can scarcely be designated as a "slight adjustment."

To return to the important question raised by Mr. Romanes, we must deny that the ideas of "dog in general," "cat in gene-

ral," &c., are general or universal ideas—"common to an animal as they are to a man." That may suit his theory, and square admirably with his professed Nominalism, but it rests upon a misconception of far-reaching gravity which cannot be too soon pointed out. We regret to find that Mr. Mivart, in his recent work, "On Truth," has made use of a similar phraseology,* when he says that "animals practically apprehend universals, for a sheep does not dread a particular wolf, but any wolf, wolf in general." We feel sure, however, that Mr. Mivart, in making use of such an expression, never meant to give any countenance to the notions defended by Mr. Romanes, as indeed his context clearly shows. But the expression is undoubtedly misleading. If anything is meant at all by the idea of "dog in general," it must mean an intellectual representation or a sense-representation of *the dog*, either abstracted or else formed by some other undefined process from the consideration of one or several dogs; Mr. Romanes says, "by an accumulation of particular experiences spontaneously assorted in consciousness." Now, as we understand the author, it is not an intellectual representation. It must, therefore, be one for which the senses are deemed sufficient. But we simply deny that the senses, as such, are capable of that representation; we deny his assertion that an animal has "a general or abstract idea of sweet, bitter, hot," if by that is meant the universal idea of sweetness, bitterness, or heat. We deny that the senses alone can be the recipients of such ideas either in animals or in man. For the sensible qualities of things are the proper objects of the senses, and those qualities present themselves to the senses in the only way in which they can be received by them—namely, in the singular and the concrete. How, then, could the senses treasure up any abstract cognition of those qualities? This argument is one which is very familiar to the students of St. Thomas Aquinas,† and we have never yet met with a refutation of it. It may be ignored, but it cannot be answered. To say that the senses, through an accumulation of experiences, can arrive at a perception of a material object in general, or of a material quality in general, is as much as to say that a number of material, concrete, singular perceptions can, by mere accumulation, give rise to a perception at once singular and not singular, concrete and not concrete, in the very organ which perceives them. But without going into intricate questions of psychology, what is the case in itself? An animal has taken to certain kinds of food and dislikes some other kinds of food. Is it necessary, in order to account for his behaviour, in presence of various morsels presented to him, to suppose that he has formed an *idea* of good-

* "On Truth," p. 346.

† "Contra Gent." ii. lxvi.

for-eating in general, and of not-good-for-eating in general? Certainly not. If the morsel offered to him be of a kind he has never before met with, he will take it, or reject it, after examination, according as the morsel offered has or has not some analogy to what he is accustomed to like, without comparing it with any ideal standard. Sometimes, as is the case with certain dogs, he will take it at once with confidence from his master's hand, while the very same morsel would have been obstinately rejected if offered by a stranger; facts of heredity, which are so closely connected with all manifestations of animal instinct, must also be taken into consideration in dealing with this subject. Underneath all such facts there lie practical judgments about singulars, of which animals are fully capable, and nothing more. Sweet substances and bitter substances are very well appreciated by animals, and from the aspect or smell of a substance they will readily infer whether it be bitter or sweet, but without having ever distinguished between the appearance or smell of the substance and its inherent sweetness or bitterness, by the formation of any abstract idea of either quality.

But before we proceed further in our analysis of the facts of animal perceptions, we must introduce the reader to a very interesting experiment instituted by Mr. Romanes in the case of a young chimpanzee at present at the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park. Here is the author's own account of the experiment:—

With the assistance of the keeper I have succeeded in teaching the chimpanzee now at the Zoological Gardens to count correctly as far as five. The method adopted is to ask her for one straw, two straws, three straws, four straws, or five straws—of course without observing any order in the succession of such requests. If more than one straw is asked for, the ape has been taught to hold the others in her mouth until the sum is completed, so that she may deliver all the straws simultaneously. For instance, if she is asked for four straws, she successively picks up three straws and puts them in her mouth, then she picks up the fourth, and hands over all the four together. This method prevents all possible error arising from her interpretation of vocal tones which might well arise if each straw were asked for separately. Thus there can be no doubt that the animal is able to distinguish receptually between the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and understands the name for each. Further than this I have not attempted to take her. I may add that her performance has been witnessed by the officers of the Zoological Society, and also by other naturalists, who will be satisfied with the accuracy of the above account.”*

Having been privileged to be present at one of the performances of that interesting animal, we are, indeed, able to testify to

* “Mental Evolution,” p. 58.

the accuracy of Mr. Romanes' account of her proficiency. The chimpanzee was in capital humour on that day, and submitted with very good grace to the various exercises imposed upon her by her keeper, at the request of Mr. Mivart and several other naturalists who were present on that occasion. The chimpanzee obeys her keeper with a readiness that shows of how much training the higher apes are capable under favourable conditions. There is a deliberate business-like attitude about the animal while going through her performances which cannot fail to excite the interest of all beholders, and the motions of the whole body, especially of the head and arms, are so human-like, so steady, that it is at first impossible to resist a feeling of surprise. When the chimpanzee is told, for instance, to pass a straw through a small hole in her cage, she at once complies with the order with a quiet precision and a firmness of manner that cannot be too much admired.

After a few preliminary exercises, not really surpassing in difficulty what can be obtained of a dog by careful training, but undoubtedly surpassing anything a dog ever does by the manner of execution, we at last arrived at the great attraction of the whole performance, seeing the chimpanzee count. The description of the process, as given above in Mr. Romanes' own words, is strictly accurate, and here again, the steady, self-composed attitude of the animal, her perfect understanding of what is expected of her, her curious, sly look at the public while she picks up the straws and places them one by one in her mouth, are extremely instructive and interesting. It must be fully admitted that Mr. Romanes, and the very intelligent keeper by whom he was helped, have done excellent work in the interests of science, and they cannot be too highly praised for the care and perseverance which have enabled them to obtain such results.

But, when we come to analyse those results, full of interest as they are from the point of view of animal psychology, the question has to be asked: What does the experiment amount to? First, it must be remarked that much lower animals than the chimpanzee appear capable of accurately learning to distinguish in order a limited number of objects, although, perhaps, in a manner less striking. We are not, therefore, here in presence of a power requiring a mental development actually bordering on the very limits of the human mind. Such a performance is not an intellectual feat, although perhaps a feat in animal psychology. If by counting we mean deliberately to repeat a given number of times the notion of oneness as applied to certain concrete objects, or independently of any such objects, or, speaking more generally, to take any known determinate quantity by the constant application of which any other quantity is measured,

then we say that the chimpanzee does *not* count, any more than many other animals which, nevertheless, are well able to see the difference between two things and three things, three things and four things, &c. But if by counting it is only meant, speaking broadly, to indicate the power of recognizing a limited group of similar objects, or of forming a limited group of such objects—in other words, the power of taking in at a glance all the elements of a small collection of things, as parts of that collection, then we are quite ready to admit the expression, and to say that the chimpanzee counts. Birds are very inferior to the ape in their cerebral organization, yet who will deny that they can count, in the sense which we have just indicated? They certainly know whether they have two, three, or four eggs in their nest; and when their young require food, they are able to estimate quantity, so as to procure what will be needed to feed their whole progeniture. Ants are still inferior in the scale of life. Yet they, too, can count in their own way, and estimate quantities. We are here in presence of a fact of sense-knowledge not even peculiar to higher animals only, but distinctly observable in certain invertebrate animals also—that is, in animals where any approximate relation to the human organism is quite out of the question, and in which, therefore, the capacity of discerning numbers cannot be founded upon conditions directly related to the mental constitution of man by any law of evolution. Hence we see that the arithmetic of the chimpanzee is no more an argument in favour of Mr. Romanes' hypothesis than is the geometry of the bees as manifested in their hexagonal structures. Our chimpanzee has been taught, after many months of laborious education, when she hears certain vocal sounds from her keeper which she connects with the work expected from her, to put together bits of straw until the picture impressed upon her memory through repeated teaching is reproduced. Her success is due to the fact that the bundle, consisting only of five straws, is small enough to be taken in at a glance as one image. Were the bundle to be much larger error would at once creep in, because of the indefiniteness created by the complexity of the picture in the animal's memory. This is practically conceded by Mr. Romanes, as appears from the following example which he himself adduces, not very happily, on behalf of his view:—

Crows will not return to their nests during daylight if they see any one waiting to shoot them. If, to lull suspicion, a hut is made below the rookery, and a man conceal himself in it with a gun, he waits in vain if the bird has ever before been shot at in a similar manner. To deceive this suspicious bird, the plan was hit upon of sending two men into the watch-house, one of whom passed on while the other remained; but the crow counted and kept her distance. The next day three went,

and again she perceived that only two returned. In fine, it was found necessary to send five or six men to the watch-house in order to put her out of her calculation.*

Change the word "calculation" for the word "perception," and we shall agree that the case, as Mr. Romanes puts it, is all that we could desire for the sake of our contention.

Perceiving, as so many observers have done before him, that many actions in the earliest portion of a child's life bear striking resemblance to those of animals, Mr. Romanes naturally seeks to prove, from certain early manifestations of intelligence in children, the relation he desires to establish between animal and human psychology. His great point, of course, is to show how in the child itself we discover that transition from the animal to the distinctly human faculty which it is his main object to demonstrate.

For [says he] where the faculty of stating a truth perceived passes into the higher faculty of perceiving the truth as true (which he admits to be a distinctly human faculty), there is a continuous series of gradations connecting the one faculty with the other. Up to the point where this continuous series of gradations begins, the mind of the child is, as I have already proved, indistinguishable from the mind of an animal by any one principle of psychology. Will you then maintain that up to this time the two orders of psychical existence are identical in kind, but that during its ascent through this final series of gradations the human intelligence becomes distinct in kind from that of animals, and therefore also from its own previous self? If so, your argument here ends in contradiction.†

Our answer to this can lay no claim to originality, for it is to be found distinctly stated in the works of such old teachers of Christian philosophy as Albertus Magnus and his immortal pupil St. Thomas of Aquin. In denying that the higher manifestations of psychical existence in man differ only in degree from those manifestations that are common in their nature both to animals and men, we are not contradicting ourselves, for the simple reason that we are speaking of two orders of psychical phenomena which are always and at all stages essentially distinct from each other. It is not with the human intellect as with those phenomena of embryonic development, where provisional structures are seen after a time to become useless and superseded by other structures, and then either disappear altogether or only leave behind fragmentary remains of no importance to the future organism, although sometimes of immense scientific value to the embryologist. Sense and intellect in man appear in order in

* "Mental Evolution," p. 57.

† *Ibid.* p. 411.

accordance with the laws of his development, but they are not, for all that, successive stages in that development. Taken together, they are the adequate expression of the powers of that "compositum" which makes his being. Although both sense and intellect, as faculties, are there from the beginning, yet their manifestations are gradual, the senses first attaining a perfection in their operations which is intended ultimately to minister to the higher and altogether distinct operations of the intellect.

In the early stages of the child's life we find a whole class of psychical phenomena already superior in degree to those observable in animals, as Mr. Romanes himself admits, but not differing in kind from them. The philosophers of the school attributed those psychical phenomena, both in animals and in man, to a faculty of the sentient order which they called *Œstimativa*, the estimative faculty, because it enables animals as well as ourselves practically to judge, to estimate singular, sensible things, under certain aspects not referred directly by the senses; as, for instance, when in presence of an object which we see, or touch, or smell, we form a practical judgment in respect to its being safe or dangerous, useful or useless to us. We know nothing in modern science that would oblige us to reject the *Œstimativa* of scholastic philosophers, nor indeed do we see how we could dispense with such a faculty, if we are at all to explain the behaviour of animals and men, in respect to those practical judgments which they are continually eliciting about things sensible, yet not perceived by the senses themselves, according to the lucid definition of St. Thomas: "*Œstimativa virtus est quæ a forma acquisita intentiones elicit quæ sensu non percipiuntur.*"*

The study of psychical phenomena in young children will not therefore help Mr. Romanes, any more than his former researches in "animal intelligence." He has found practical inferences or judgments in children, and even in grown-up men, in no way different in kind from those practical judgments with which the study of animals has made us familiar. But this discovery was made long ago by the great teachers of our school. Then he has looked in the child for that transition from sense to intellect which he could not, of course, hope to observe anywhere else in nature. He has tried to hit upon the exact moment when the animal-child became the intellectual man, the crowned king of nature, and he has found himself baffled in the attempt. That moment was not to be found, for the simple reason that it does not exist. All he could find is a continuous series of gradations in the mental phenomena of the child, leading up ultimately to

* Summa Theol. i. q. lxxviii., a. 4.

operations distinctly superior to anything observed in animals, but co-existing with those inferior operations at first exclusively observed in the child, and at all times exclusively observable in animals. He also noticed that there is, even in the earliest stages of a child's life, a striking superiority to animals manifested in those very operations of which animals themselves are capable. St. Thomas had also observed that, and explained it too, by showing how both superior and inferior psychical faculties, proceeding as they do from the essence of the soul in man, are not altogether independent of each other in their operations, the inferior ones appearing to receive very early an increase of power from their union in the soul with the higher. And we might add that this is one of the reasons why the first distinctly intellectual operations in a child are so difficult of analysis and observation. This explanation does not, however, seem required to clear up some of the difficulties which Mr. Romanes alludes to. For instance, he appears to attribute the power so unequally displayed by the higher animals of recognizing pictorial representations, engraved portraits, &c., to the gradual attainment of a higher level of what he terms "receptual ideation." But, surely, the physiological differences brought about in the visual organs of various animals by distinct morphological conditions must have primarily much to do with their inferiority to even a child eight months old, which at that tender age, Mr. Romanes tells us, was able distinctly to recognize its father's portrait. That portrait, we must remember, was painted by a man, and the whole perspective in it was disposed to suit the human sight. It is not, therefore, wonderful that even very young children should be able to surpass all animals in their early power of recognizing the person or object represented by such a picture. To try, as the author does, to build a doctrine upon such a fact appears to us scarcely prudent and decidedly unscientific.

To conclude, Mr. Romanes has failed to show that his own explanation of the origin of human intelligence is the only one at all possible. Having also failed to show that his explanation is the true one (since he only claims for it, as we have seen, a high degree of probability), the doctrine taught by christian Philosophy clearly remains unaffected by his criticisms no less than by his arguments.

L. E. BAYNARD KLEIN.

Science Notices.

The Work of the Stonyhurst Observatory.—The advantages of concentration are forcibly illustrated by the history of this establishment. A line has been adopted and persevered in, and as a consequence really valuable results have been attained with comparatively simple means. Father Perry, whose energy and skill as a solar observer have raised him to a high rank among astronomers, delivered at the Royal Institution, on May 24, an interesting lecture on the work done in his observatory during the last ten years. When he entered the field, the photographic had almost superseded the visual method in the study of the sun's surface. He accordingly turned his attention to drawings, an admirable series of which was shown upon the screen, and excited genuine applause. Among the features brought out in them, curious rays and streams are noticeable which at times seem as if flung across the penumbrae of spots; and the delineations of "faculae," the bright marginal elevations of the photosphere round the spot cavities, are also striking. From a theoretical point of view, the proof furnished in the lecture that spots invariably precede faculae in the order of their appearance is highly important. It gives the *coup de grâce* to the eruptive hypothesis of the origin of spots, and tends to confirm Mr. Lockyer's opinion that all disturbances of the solar surface begin with falls of solid matter from the higher regions of the solar atmosphere, which rend the lustrous veil of photospheric clouds, and produce, secondarily, the upspringing of those return-jets of incandescent matter known to us as faculae and prominences.

Father Perry places the last sun-spot maximum in 1882, although other investigators have considered that it was postponed until January 1884. The earlier date corresponds, however, better with the average duration of the cycle, as well as with the occurrence of the minimum we are now passing through, which would be premature for a maximum in 1884. For it must be remembered that the curve representing solar activity is far from symmetrical, the ascent being much more rapid than the descent. Wolf has shown that, on an average, the interval between a minimum and the ensuing maximum is only four and a half years, while six and a half elapse before a maximum gives place to a minimum.

A large grating-spectroscope, installed at Stonyhurst last year, is to be especially devoted to photographing the spectra of sunspots. Solar theory has much to gain from the steady prosecution of this undertaking. Father Perry, it is all but settled, is to be the emissary of the Royal Astronomical Society to Cayenne, in French

Guiana, for the observation of the total solar eclipse of December 21 next; and he is to be provided with a colleague, separated from him by the whole width of the Atlantic, in Mr. Taylor, of the Ealing Observatory, who will be stationed sixty miles south of Loanda, on the West Coast of Africa. Their corresponding observations may help to decide questions of great interest. Father E. Colin, S.J., after a year's training in the Stonyhurst Observatory, has been appointed director of the French Government Observatory at Antananarivo, in the island of Madagascar.

Double Star Discoveries at Lick.—The brightest star in the Dipper, Alpha Ursae Majoris, proves to be very closely double. It was divided into two very unequal components by Mr. Burnham, with the aid of the giant achromatic of the Lick Observatory, on February 20 of the present year. The attendant star is of only eleventh magnitude, so that there is a disparity of nine magnitudes between it and its primary; and since they are practically at the same distance from ourselves, this implies a real inequality of light in the proportion of four thousand to one. The apparent interval separating these two objects is less than one second of arc, or about the breadth of a human hair held at sixty feet from the eye. The excessive difficulty of their distinct recognition can thus be readily imagined. The feat has hitherto been performed only by one gifted specialist, using the most powerful and perfect refracting telescope in existence.

Mr. S. W. Burnham has been pronounced by a competent authority not only "the greatest double-star observer that ever has lived," but "the greatest that ever will live." He was born (as we learn from a recent article in the *Century* magazine) at Thetford, in the State of Vermont, in 1840. Having adopted the profession of a shorthand reporter, he, in that capacity, accompanied the Federal Army to New Orleans, where he chanced to pick up at an auction a book on astronomy, and was induced by its perusal to procure a small telescope. This was in 1866; three years later he ordered from the Alvan Clarks a six-inch refractor, which proved one of the best even they had ever constructed. He mounted it with his own hands in the backyard of his house in Chicago, where he earned a livelihood by official work in the Circuit Court, and at once began to explore the skies with it. His first list of eighty-one new double-stars was sent to the Astronomical Society of London in 1873, and was rapidly succeeded by others. European observers learned with amazement that all their combined efforts in this department of astronomy during twenty years had been surpassed in less than two by a law-reporter in Chicago, furnished with the very simplest appliances, and ignorant of all the refined arts of the observatory. By May 1882 Mr. Burnham had discovered over one thousand compound stars, most of them extremely close and difficult objects. He then proposed to bring his astronomical career to a close, but things were otherwise ordered. Professor Holden was no sooner appointed director of the Lick Observatory than he secured the

services, as second in command, of the Chicago stenographer, who entered upon his duties there in January 1888. We can here give only the barest sample of the results he has already achieved.

Alpha Ursae Majoris is a star of the "solar type." The character of its spectrum shows that its physical constitution is closely analogous to that of our sun. It is remarkable for its variations in colour from yellow to reddish in a period estimated at 54 days, but which is probably subject to divers irregularities. The reality of these changes, first detected by Klein, of Cologne, has of late been substantiated by "colorimetrical" observations at M. de Konkoly's observatory in Hungary. Now colour-variables are so often double as to suggest a relation of cause and effect between the two circumstances; hence the discovery of the compound nature of the first Pointer, as tending to confirm this surmise, has an especial interest. The star has a small proper motion of $14\frac{1}{2}''$ a century, which is shared by a distant seventh magnitude star emitting violet-tinted light. Since stars that move together must in some way belong to each other, we are led to infer that here, too, permanent companionship exists, and the system thus becomes a triple one.

Another noteworthy discovery recently made at Lick is that the third brightest star in Cassiopeia has a close companion of the eleventh magnitude; a still smaller, and comparatively distant one, had previously been made known by Mr. Burnham. Gamma Cassiopeiae is one of those "gaseous stars," the real nature of which is just at present a moot point. The peculiarity of its spectrum, detected by Father Secchi in 1866, consists in the hydrogen-lines showing *bright*, instead of *dark*, on the prismatic band of the star's analysed light. Like all other gaseous stars not markedly variable, this object is apparently, and perhaps really, immersed in the nebulous masses of the Milky Way. It has no sensible parallax, and is thus indefinitely remote.

After careful scrutiny, Mr. Burnham pronounces Procyon a single star, so far as his piercing gaze can discern with thirty-six inches of telescopic aperture in the brilliant sky of Mount Hamilton. Yet it undoubtedly describes an orbit round a closely adjacent centre of attraction in a period of about forty years, as is shown by the undulating line of its proper motion. It forms then a close system with a dark body, the gravitative influence of which has alone raised a suspicion amounting almost to certainty of its existence. Laplace considered that the obscure denizens of the sidereal world might be as numerous as the lustrous ones. One modern theorist (Dr. Croll) regards the former as suns *in posse*—as inert masses waiting their turn to be kindled by collision. Others class them as suns which have had their day, and lapsed into extinction. Their real status is problematical, and will, perhaps, ever remain so.

Saturn's Rings.—These unique appendages, as our readers are doubtless aware, are, so to speak, *granular* in their composition. They are built up out of cosmical dust and rubble, each of their innumerable constituent particles revolving independently round the

planet, without any cohesive tie with the others. This conclusion was arrived at by Professor Clerk Maxwell in 1857; but it had already, unknown to him, been virtually demonstrated by Edouard Roche, of Montpellier, who died in 1883, without having reached the fame which his genius merited. Professor G. H. Darwin has recently, in a popular article, drawn attention to his researches, which are of too abstruse a nature to be generally intelligible except in their results.

It was shown by M. Roche in 1848 that no considerable globular aggregation of matter can revolve within a certain limit of distance from a planet; for this reason, that in such close vicinity it would be torn to pieces by tidal forces. In other words, the inequalities of attraction on its different parts would produce a strain too great for its cohesion to bear; disruption would ensue; and millions of small bodies would take the place of a single large one. The satellite would be transformed into a ring. Now, Saturn's rings lie within "Roche's limit," so that it is theoretically impossible for the matter composing them to exist in a continuous form. Their pulverulent or "meteoric" constitution is the inevitable result of their situation. But the thronging members of this singular system, although each of them circulates on its own account, are not therefore exempt from mutual disturbance. Encounters between them must be of continual occurrence, leading to extensive changes in their orbital relations. From a mathematical analysis of the character of these changes, Clerk Maxwell deduced the consequence that the rings are spreading both outward and inward. The whole appendage which they form grows, year by year, wider and thinner. Now it is almost certain, from drawings made in the seventeenth century, that the interval between the surface of the planet and the inner bright ring was wider then than it is now; while the dusky ring discovered by Bond and Dawes in 1850 seems to be gaining conspicuousness through the crowding inward of the revolving meteorites. Eventually, they will, of course, enter Saturn's atmosphere, and meet their doom by being burnt up in it like shooting stars. By diffusion outward, on the other hand, the meteorites now composing the rings will be brought into regions where the veto upon their aggregation into a satellite will be withdrawn. Transcending "Roche's limit," they will gather together one by one, giving birth at last by their union to a ninth Saturnian moon. This, in Professor Darwin's opinion, is the predestined end of Saturn's rings. The dust now constituting them, so far as it can escape re-amalgamation with the parent body, will be swept up into a new secondary member of the solar family, revolving not far beyond the present visible outer margin of the marvellous but transitory structure first seen by Galileo.

The Great Nebula in Orion.—Facts of the most curious kind regarding the structure of the nebulae are, in rapid succession, being made obvious through the instrumentality of the camera. On the 4th of last February, Mr. Roberts, of Liverpool, obtained, with an exposure of nearly three hours and a half, a photograph of the Orion nebula which, so far, distances competition. It shows the object to

possess a very distinct and remarkable character. The vast nebular branches diverging from the vicinity of the nuclear group of bright stars known as the "trapezium" are seen in it to curve gradually together as they ascend, exhibiting an extraordinary analogy (pointed out by Mr. Ranyard in *Knowledge for May*) with the so-called "synclinal structures" visible in many eclipse-photographs of the sun's corona. It is difficult to believe that the effects are not in both cases produced by the action of similar forces. Additional probability is lent to this inference by the presence, spectroscopically detected by Dr. Copeland, of the solar element "helium" among the constituents of this problematical object. Helium has been plausibly supposed to be an etherialized form of hydrogen; it is terrestrially unknown, and occurs only in the hottest parts of the sun's surroundings, as well as in the blazing atmospheres of a few "gaseous" stars. If it be correctly described as a product of the dissociation of hydrogen, an enormously high temperature must be indispensable to its development. But we have lately been taught to regard the nebulae as standing at the very bottom of the scale of celestial temperatures. Mr. Lockyer's meteoric hypothesis—so tempting from its claims to unify phenomena and expound analogies—depends wholly on the assumption, for such bodies, of a low heat-status. His identification, however, of the ray of green light characterizing the spectra of *all* gaseous nebulae with a line emitted in the laboratory by "cool" magnesium, is no longer admissible. In a profoundly interesting joint paper, read before the Royal Society on May 2, 1889, Dr. and Mrs. Huggins show conclusively that magnesium is *not* the originating substance of the line in question. This is a severe blow to the meteoric theory of nebular constitution, and leaves us without any other to take its place. However, those advances towards truth which bring home to us our profound ignorance are not among the least valuable.

Animal Locomotion.—The Zoopraxiscope.—One wonders whether it was by coincidence or design that Mr. Muybridge fixed upon the current year to take London audiences by storm with the exhibition of his latest photographic achievements. Whichever of these two elements in human affairs brought about the event, it could not have occurred at a more appropriate moment than in this fiftieth year of photographic development. Mr. Muybridge has given his attention for some time past to the elaboration of instantaneous photography, and the result of his labours may be said to be a new and invaluable instrument of scientific research. Mr. Muybridge is an American citizen who appears to have won the reputation of being a skilful professional photographer before he took up the special branch which has secured him European fame. It was in 1872 that he first photographed a horse trotting at full speed, in the hopes that the results would throw new light upon its movements, and settle the controversy amongst horsemen whether at any moment all the feet of the horse are off the ground. A few years later Mr. Muybridge resolved to pursue further these

investigations in the consecutive phases of animal locomotion, and conceived the idea of employing numbers of cameras, arranged side by side parallel to the track along which the horse was to be ridden. A remarkable feature in this arrangement was the exposing of the camera by the horse itself as it walked, trotted, or galloped past the camera battery. The shutter of each camera was adjusted so that it could be let go by the pulling of a string: the string connected with the shutters was placed across the path of the horse, and was consequently broken in the course of its transit. Thus the animal was photographed in a succession of phases of motion, at a distance space of about 14 inches and a time space of about $\frac{1}{20}$ of a second. When these photographs first made their appearance, every one was struck by the difference between the various attitudes presented and what has become conventional in art, proving that the eye does not see the individual movements, but only a general effect of a variety. On this account Mr. Muybridge claims for instantaneous photography the function of redeeming art from a conventionality that is full of errors. It is to be an eye educator. But such a proposition as this evokes the difficult question how reality and impression are to be so adjusted that the one is not sacrificed to the other; and if our young artists are to be trained by studying what the eye never sees, will not the next generation paint pictures that are simply the analysis of certain movements instead of their synthesis? But, putting aside artistic considerations, Professor Ray Lankester has pointed out that the discrepancy between instantaneous photographs and conventional representation is of deep psychological interest as to the connection between the "sun picture" and the "brain picture."

Mr. Muybridge first exhibited his photographs in Europe in 1882. He received encouragement in the high places of science and art both in Paris and in London, and lectured on the subject at the Royal Institution, the Royal Academy, the Society of Arts, and South Kensington Art Schools.

In pursuing these researches still further, Mr. Muybridge has been more fortunate than many of the most distinguished original investigators, who often, from want of funds, have had to struggle with scanty appliances. He has produced his latest specimens at the expense of the University of Pennsylvania, who placed £6000 at his disposal on the condition that the first proceeds of the sale of the photographs should go to repay this sum. Mr. Muybridge has certainly done his part to meet this exceptional liberality, and on his second visit to Europe this year shows us not only the phases of the movements of horses, but of a great variety of other subjects. He has with him a set of 500 plates, embodying men, women, and children in different phases of motion; there are also several studies of the movements of asses, mules, oxen, elephants, and other animals.

Whenever Mr. Muybridge has lectured in public he has thrown the photographs upon a screen by means of a projection lantern,

and the representation of such intense forms of human movement as fencing, wrestling, boxing, and dancing form indeed a unique exhibition. Not the least interesting point is the manner by which he puts together the separate phases of motion so as to present to his audience the reproduction of the action which formed the subject for analysis. He makes use of the principle of a well-known scientific toy—the zöetrope—which depends upon the law of persistence of vision. In the zöetrope a subject is presented to the eye in different attitudes in rapid succession; but the gradations of these attitudes is only fanciful, and the compound of impressions on the retina of the eye produces an effect rather like the stiff and graceless motion of a marionette. But in Mr. Muybridge's zoöpraxiscope the phases successively presented to the eye are true to nature; therefore, when he projects on to the screen the synthesis of the phases of the locomotion of the horse, it walks, trots, gallops, and jumps fences in a manner that is amazingly life-like. Perhaps the most pleasing of these studies is the flight of a bird, and the spectators might have been easily duped into believing that a live bird was hovering in mid-air before them. This neat synthesis of movement will, perhaps, be more useful to art students than the various stages of analysis. Regarding the latter, one of the most curious specimens is a particular attitude of the leaping horse; its legs are doubled up like those of the insect known as a daddy long-legs. The appearance of water falling from a jug is very remarkable; one would think it was rather frozen spray.

These latest results have been obtained by the use of a more complicated apparatus than Mr. Muybridge first used. Now as then a multiplicity of cameras is the essential feature. In the perfected apparatus there are three distinct camera batteries; one is parallel to the track, so as to take a lateral view, and the other two are arranged so as to give views from front and rear. The shutter is let off by electricity. The electric connection between the cameras is arranged so that a corresponding camera in each of the three batteries is exposed synchronously. The exposure is about 1-5000 of a second.

In a recent number of *Nature*, Professor Ray Lankester has dwelt upon the value of these new researches to the naturalist and physiologist. He tells us that they have demonstrated that the walking gait of all mammalia is the same, from the crawl of an infant to the progression of a sloth hanging from a pole, with one exception, "the baboon." This animal, instead of extending the right fore limb and left hind limb and the left fore limb and right hind limb simultaneously, and then bringing them together beneath the body whilst the other pair is extended, extends the right fore and hind limb or left fore and hind limb simultaneously, followed by their approximation, whilst the opposite pair are extended. Professor Lankester also remarks that "the turning of the quill-feathers of the bird's wing during the upward movement or recovery of the wing, so that they cut the air instead of pressing it with a broad

surface, is one of the prettiest demonstrations Mr. Muybridge has obtained." He also thinks that the correlation of movements between facial and limb muscles in the expression of emotion can well be studied in some of Mr. Muybridge's subjects. But the eminent biologist yearns for this new eye of science to be turned on to less well-known specimens of animal life than are seen in the present collection of plates, on subjects the very names of which might puzzle Mr. Muybridge, unless he places himself under biological instruction. He wants photographs of the moving legs of "*Peripatus capensis*," so that he may compare them with the "parapodia of such chætopods as *Phyllodoce* and *Nephtys* on the one hand, and the curious 'gait' of the Hexapod insects." He also suggests photographs of scorpions, spiders, shrimps, lobsters, and crabs, as invaluable to the investigation of "*Anthropod*" locomotion. Mr. Muybridge has his work before him, and if every artist will not allow that his method is likely to redeem art from the bondage of error, he has won the sympathy, if not enthusiasm of the investigator.

New Meteorological Apparatus.—A new departure in the electrical transmission of power was shown by Mr. Murday at the annual exhibition of the Royal Meteorological Society. By use of his invention it will now be possible to obtain accurate readings from indicators placed at a distance, and it should prove a boon to meteorological science. At present, on certain mountain stations, observations can only be taken at certain times of the year, for to read the record the observer has to approach the spot where the investigations are in progress. This is often impossible owing to the presence of snow. In Mr. Murday's arrangement the observing instrument is separated from the actually recording instrument, so that hundreds of miles may intervene between them. They are, however, electrically connected, so that the temperature of the ice-bound summit can be comfortably read by the fireside of the Meteorological Office. The system can be applied to a variety of instruments, aneroid and mercurial thermometers, metallic thermometers, anemometers, wind-vanes, and rain-gauges. Mr. Murday, at the exhibition, contented himself with demonstrating its action with an aneroid. The instrument at the "home" station consists of an ordinary clock movement, driven by a spring, and regulated by a pendulum. There is a dial, which is divided in a manner similar to the dial of the aneroid at the "distant" station. The clockwork motion causes a hand to move slowly over the dial. There are electric contacts provided, so that at every alternate swinging of the pendulum currents are transmitted to the distant instrument by means of an electric cable. There is an arrangement by which an electro-magnet actuates a stopwork contrivance for the purpose of arresting the motion of the clockwork. The electric battery consists of ordinary *Léclanché* cells. In the distant apparatus there is a train of wheels which can be set in motion by an electro-magnet. This arrangement is called electro-sympathetic clockwork. The largest wheel is placed in front of the dial of the

aneroid, with its axis parallel to the axis of its indicating hand. Attached to the axis of this wheel is a hand called the "false" hand, with a platinum point bent at right angles, so as to come in contact with another platinum point on the real hand of the aneroid when the wheels revolve. By an electro-magnetic arrangement the whole train of wheels can revolve backwards so as to bring the false hand back to the zero on the scale of the aneroid.

To find the exact reading of the aneroid at the distant station, the hand on the dial of the "home" instrument is set on the zero dial, and the pendulum put into motion. This transmits currents through the cable to the electro-magnet in the "distant" instrument, causing the system of wheels to revolve and the false hand to start from the zero of the scale synchronously with the hand on the dial of the "home" station. The hand continues to move until it comes into contact with the real hand of the aneroid, when a second electrical circuit is closed, and a current passes through the electro-magnet in the "home" instrument, which instantly stops the motion of the clockwork. The same current passes to the electro-magnet in the "distant" instrument. This causes the wheels to revolve backwards, bringing the false hand back to the zero of the scale to be ready for another reading. Since the position of the real hand of the aneroid determines the motion of the false hand, and through the agency of the latter the motion of the hand in the "home" instrument (which was moving synchronously with the false hand in the distant instrument), it is at once apparent that the hand at the home station points to the exact division of the scale of the dial in the "distant" instrument. The mechanism of the latter remains out of gear until the current is transmitted again from the "home" instrument.

In the instrument shown, the dial of the aneroid was divided from 27 to 31 inches, and the false hand moved forward .005 inches at each current transmitted through the driving electro-magnet, the hand moving in a series of jumps until it came into contact with the real hand of the aneroid. The reading of the distant barometer is thus obtained within an error of .005 inches. The instrument shown has worked through a distance of four hundred miles.

Mr. Murday suggested that the readings of the distant aneroid, or other instrument, could be automatically received and recorded on a revolving drum every hour or so, thus requiring no personal attention beyond the winding of the clock once a week, the replacement of diagrams on the recording drum, and the recharging of cells twice a year. The distant portion of the instrument when once placed into position may remain untouched for years.

Mr. Murday also suggests that his invention might well be employed in taking ocean temperatures. The case containing the thermometer or distant part of the apparatus could be lowered to any depth, and the temperature read without bringing the thermometer up to the surface until the whole series of observations were taken.

Another very interesting piece of apparatus at the same exhibition was a model, showing the formation of ocean currents, designed by Mr. A. W. Clayden. This model was made for lecture purposes, and showed how nearly all oceanic water movements are determined by the direction of winds and the form of coasts. The apparatus, as at present planned, does not attempt to give results ensuing on differences of temperature or rotational velocity, but simply shows the connection between prevalent winds and oceanic circulation. It is as simple as instructive, and the experiments with the well-known so-called Gulf Stream are full of interest to a British spectator. The model is practically a map of the Atlantic and neighbouring land on Mercator's projection. The continents and large islands are wood coated with waterproof varnish, the smaller islands scraps of metal or pins fixed in the board basis of the whole. The land lies half an inch above the sea-beds in a shallow tray. This tray is filled up with water till the seas represented by the liquid are level with the land, and lycopodium powder is scattered on their surface, so that the direction of any water movement is rendered clearly visible. Under the tray is a wind chest worked by the foot, and in connection are a number of small tubes projecting through the continents, and bent so as to deliver air over the surface of the water. These air jets are so placed as to represent the actual air circulation as shown in a chart of the prevalent winds of the year. The air jets representing strong and persisting trades open on to the water, while those representing the uncertain winds of northern latitudes are allowed to disperse to some extent before reaching its surface. The great equatorial currents, the return stream, and the northward stream by Greenland are amongst those shown, and when a portion of the Isthmus of Panama is lifted from the model forming a canal to a scale representing some twenty miles in width, the direction of the return current is not altered as far as concerns the North Atlantic, only some of the return stream round the Mosquito Bay and Gulf of Darien escaping into the Pacific. But when a large part of Central America is lifted out, almost the whole of the tropical water passes through the opening, drawing down the cold currents from Baffin's Bay and the Arctic Ocean to the Azores and the Canary Isles.

Automatic Fire-damp Detectors.—Mr. Pitkin has lately worked out, in conjunction with Mr. Niblett, an invention which is intended to lessen the dangers to which coal-miners are exposed. It is important that the miner should have in connection with his safety-lamp a ready means of knowing the presence of inflammable gases in dangerous quantities. Mr. Swan, who has given a great deal of attention to the development of portable and self-contained electric mining lamps, has included a gas detector as an essential portion of the apparatus. But it has the disadvantage of not being automatic in its action, the miner having to leave off working to manipulate the apparatus, if he wants to investigate the condition of the air in the working. Mr. Pitkin and his coadjutor provide a

detector that is automatic, and which can also be easily applied to a portable electric lamp. Its action depends upon the peculiar property of the metal platinum, which causes the combination of oxygen and hydrogen and other combustible gases; a clean surface of platinum brings about this phenomenon: if the platinum is spongy the action is greater, and if the platinum is in the extremely divided form called platinum black, it is very intense.

In the instrument there are two thermometers, one of which, being of the usual form, gives the ordinary reading of the temperature of the air in contact with the bulb; the other has its bulb coated with the finely divided platinum, so that it may cause the oxygen and inflammable gas to combine, the effect being the production of heat and consequent rising of the mercury. But a doubt has been raised, and with reason, whether the heat developed in the platinum by the chemical action of combination might not get beyond the bounds intended, and be the determining point of an explosion. If this should be the case, the detector would be a fresh danger in the hands of the miner.

Ice Microbes.—To indulge in ice is a pretty general habit in the dog-days. It may, however, be a very dangerous one. It is impossible to filter ice like water, though it often sorely needs such cleansing. Ice brought straight from the melting glacier would be pure, but if it is the product of rivers it will contain the same impurities as its source. The bacillus of typhoid has been found flourishing in river ice, as such an intruder resists the temperature of the freezing point. Artificial ice, if it is made from impure water will also contain the germs of disease; therefore, to be perfectly sure of the quality of one's ice, it is necessary to see its source passed through a reliable filter.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Capabilities of the Sahara.—A lecture delivered by Dr. Schlichter, the well-known geologist, at the London Section of the German Colonial Society, treated of the "Sahara Desert, and its importance for the culture and development of Africa." The old idea of this great tract as an absolutely waterless expanse requires to be considerably modified in the light of recent knowledge, and the lecturer dwelt on the conditions of the existing water supply. The date-palm, which lives, according to the proverb, "with its feet in the water and its head in the fire," is the great vivifier of the desert, and its growth is almost solely dependent on irrigation. Of the caravan

routes, exhaustively explained and illustrated by the most recent maps, four were described as of paramount importance—(1) The route Morocco-Araun-Mabruk-Timbaktu ; (2) Tripoli-Gnadames-Ghat Lake Tchad, leading to the prosperous Haussa States, Sokoto, and Kano ; (3) Tripoli-Fezzan-Kanar-Bilana, direct to Lake Tchad, generally followed by Europeans, both because the shortest, and because it leads to the Empire of Bournu, where they have been always well received ; (4) the extreme eastern route from Benghazi by way of Wadschila and the oasis of Kusra to Wadai, which has never yet been traversed throughout by any European traveller. The population and commercial products of the Sahara were described by Dr. Schlichter, who then went on to speak of the Desert route to the interior of Africa as an alternative to those of Zanzibar and the Congo. He claimed for it superior sanitary conditions, and pointed out one undoubted advantage which it has in the possibility of substituting camel-transport for human portage, the most expensive and impracticable of all forms of carriage. Scarcity of water and extreme heat have, on the other hand, to be taken into account as counterbalancing drawbacks.

Shifting of the Coast Line in South Italy.—A correspondent of the *Athenæum* gives, on April 20, 1889, the following extract from a report on recent changes of level along the Campanian Coast :

The changes which have taken place at Gaeta are the work of man. The great absorption of Serapo, where formerly existed a temple of Jupiter Serapis, is not due probably to the sea. The action of the Garigliano withdraws the water slowly from Gaeta to Formia, where the sea reasserts itself. Remains of Roman buildings are now 100 mètres in the sea, the water having gained 1·50 mètres in depth. Near Mondragone rose the ancient Sinnessa, the ruins of which, once washed by the waves, are now 30 mètres inland ; the plain between Sinnessa and Minturno, which measures 15 kilomètres, is buried. At Minturno on the Liris, the Romans had a port much frequented. The Roman Senate collected men there for the second Punic War ; the port of Minturno has now disappeared. A tower built in 988 on the shore is now 100 mètres distant from it. At Pozzuoli the sea is gaining on the land. The municipality has been obliged for the second time to raise the *banchino* of the port to prevent the water from entering the square of Maria delle Grazie. The ground has had a tendency to sink since the earthquake of 1538, which threw up Monte Nuovo. The oldest inhabitants remember the time when they went to the Convent of the Cappuccini easily by land ; now they go in a boat, there being water to the depth of 1·30 mètres. At Naples, on the contrary, the sea has retired. The ancient harbour, dating from Titus, reached the University, this is now distant from it 350 mètres with an elevation of 9 mètres. In the time of Frederick II. vessels took shelter in the bay on which stands Castelnuovo. In 1300 the port was so full of lapilli and arena as to render this impossible. From Torre del Greco the lava resists the sea, but where the sea does not encounter the lava it wastes or corrodes the beach. Before the eruption of 1579 the sea occupied the level ground between Vesuvius and the mountains of the valley of the Sarno, about 12 kilomètres in length and 10 in depth. The average elevation of the land is now from 10 to 15 mètres. At Vico Equense (half-way between Castellammare and Sorrento), the tradition is that between Cape Orlando

and Cape Scutola there once rose Equa, which an earthquake destroyed and the sea swallowed up. At Salerno the sea washed the walls; at Amalfi, in 1343, the sea swallowed a portion of the shore, but the latter is now advancing. The ancient Sapri shows its Roman remains covered by water, but lower down the shore is gradually encroaching on the sea. Around the island of Capri there are rich and abundant remains of Roman splendour, but these are all under water. On the heights, however, there are remains of magnificent palaces of the emperors.

The three beautiful columns of the Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli furnish a curious index of the local changes of level in the volcanic soil on which they stand, as they bear traces, in a belt of perforations produced by a marine boring worm about twenty feet above their pedestals, of having been once submerged to that height. The soil then rose again, lifting them to nearly their original level, and is now again, as the above letter shows, gradually sinking.

Mr. Stanley's Letters.—The hardships suffered by the Congo Expedition are fully detailed in letters from Stanley to Major Barttelot, dated respectively September 18, 1887, and February 14, 1888. In struggling through the uninhabited forest district of Manyuema previous to the latter date, they had for twelve days been compelled to live on wild fruits and fungi, and had lost twenty-two men by desertion, while the remainder were reduced to skeletons by starvation. A detached exploring party suffered still more severely, as its original number of fifty-two was reduced to fifteen by death and desertion. This forest is the same traversed by Livingstone before his relief by Stanley, and is described by the latter in his communication to the Royal Geographical Society as "probably the most extensive forest region in Africa, resembling in many respects the tropical forest region of South America." The difficulties experienced in penetrating it are described as consisting

of creepers, ranging from one-eighth inch to fifteen inches in diameter, swinging across the path in bowlines or loops, sometimes massed and twisted together; also of a low dense bush occupying the sites of old clearings, which had to be carved through before a passage was possible. Where years had elapsed since the clearings had been abandoned, we found a young forest, and the spaces between the trees choked with climbing plants, vegetable creepers, and tall plants. This kind had to be tunnelled through before an inch of progress could be made.

Geographical Results of the Expedition.—Mr. Stanley's march has definitely settled the courses of an important affluent of the Congo and its tributaries; has defined the limits of the Albert Nyanza, and found that it is rapidly receding owing to the wearing away of the reefs in the Nile; has all but established the existence of a separate lake to the south, the same discovered by him on his journey across Africa, whose outlet will probably be found to be by the Congo and not by the Nile; and has sighted a great snow-mountain, rivaling Kilima-njaro, about fifty miles to the south-east of his standpoint near the west shore of Albert Nyanza. It was pointed out to him by his native attendants as covered with salt, and seems to be called Ruwenzori, but whether it was identical with

Mount Gordon Bennett he could not absolutely pronounce. The natural trade outlet for the region round the Albert Nyanza would seem to be, from his observations, not by the Aruwimi, with its numerous rapids and impenetrable forests, but by the Victoria Nyanza and British East Africa.

Diminutive Races.—He regards the country between the Albert Nyanza and the lake discovered by him in 1876 as promising curious ethnological discoveries.

The tribes inhabiting the forests and valleys of the Ituri are (he says) undoubted cannibals. Between the Nepoko and the grass land the dwarfs are exceeding numerous, they are called Wambutti. The Pasha's people with us recognize in them the Tokki-tikki further north. A few only of these people are to be found south of the Ituri. I suppose we saw about 150 forest villages and camps of the Wambutti. They are a venomous, cowardly, and thievish race, very expert with their arrows, as we found to our cost.

They are evidently identical with Schweinfurth's Akka, and are doubtless, like the bushmen of South Africa, the remnant of a primitive race doomed to speedy extermination. The poison used for the arrows of some of the tribes passed through by the expedition was found to be composed of the bodies of red ants dried and reduced to powder.

Later News of the Expedition.—Telegrams from Zanzibar of June 12 announce Stanley's arrival at Ururi, on the south-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, on December 2, 1888, having had many losses from sickness and starvation. Emin Pasha was fifteen days' journey farther to the north, but also on the shore of the lake, and Stanley had again left Ururi in order to rejoin him.

Land Rush in Oklahoma.—One of the most picturesque incidents of American frontier settlement was the celebrated Oklahoma Boom, which proved as ephemeral as it was sudden. This territory, a part of the Indian Reserve, and consequently closed to white colonization, had been an object of illegal enterprise since the autumn of 1878, when a man of the name of Payne formed a company, and commenced an agitation on the Kansas border for its occupation. A series of raids then took place, necessitating the employment of troops to expel the contraband colonists. In May 1884 Payne got together a sufficiently large body, consisting of 600 men, women, and children, to defy the law successfully for a time. He founded the city of Rock Falls, opened a drug store with a licence to sell liquor, a provision store, a schoolhouse, a printing office and a newspaper, imported a parson colonist, and established regular religious services. A three months' existence was enjoyed by this settlement, as it was not till August that sufficient troops were collected to expel the adventurers.

Oklahoma next became a political question, and the purchase of some of the lands by the State was proposed in Congress. This having been done, a proclamation by the President announced that the new territory would be thrown open for settlement on April 22 of the present year, possession going by priority of occupation.

For two years previous a temporary population began to gather on the border in steadily increasing numbers, and boomer towns, like Purcell and Beaver City, containing hotels, stores, and populations in some cases of 1500, but without a single permanent building, came into provisional existence. After April 22, these caravan-series were no more, and Purcell is described as having been reduced in twenty-four hours to a deserted village, a small station on the railway, eight miles from a new city founded in Oklahoma simultaneously with its decease.

As the day of occupation approached, the trails were blocked for miles by thousands of waggons transporting the household goods of a moving population of 50,000, the blaze of whose innumerable camp-fires lit up the whole country by night. When the signal for the advance was given by trumpet call on the 22nd, a headlong race began for priority in securing the best lots, swift horses, which had commanded as much as £100 during the previous days, were urged forward at breakneck speed, and the trains were crowded with swarming human beings, who leaped from them while still in motion as they passed the pre-determined locality of their choice. The city of Guthrie, staked out in an hour, had newspapers, streets, a post office, and a municipal election before it was a day old, but was deserted as quickly as it was occupied. The Promised Land proved a disappointment, the settlers found themselves without provisions or any means of getting them, and the stampede out of Oklahoma was as reckless and hurried as had been the previous inrush.

French Trade in Syria.—The French Consul in Damascus complains, in a recent report, of the decline in French trade, while the imports of German, Austrian, British, and Italian goods increase. He attributes this falling off to want of knowledge on the part of the French manufacturer, as well as to high railway rates and original cost of production. Other manufacturers send out agents to inquire as to the price, demand, and competition, in various classes of goods, and through them receive orders direct without the intervention of a middleman. The French traders, on the contrary, obtain orders through two or three commission agents, each receiving a profit of about 8 per cent. In addition, the initial cost of French goods is higher, so that, though they are so much preferred that other foreign wares are frequently sold as French, their high price prevents their extensive sale.

The Peasantry of North-Eastern Italy.—Sir Dominick Colnaghi, British Consul at Florence, in a report on the Province of Belluno, describes the peasantry as still retaining their attachment to religion, and continuing quiet, orderly, and moral. Their diet is very frugal, consisting mainly of "polenta," or maize porridge, cheese, "ricotta," a sort of curd, milk, bean-soup, ill-cooked vegetables, and coarse rye or maize bread. To these staples, small sausages, made of horse-flesh, beef, or pork, are added during the winter months. In the mountain districts, where wheaten or rye

bread, soup-pastes, meat, and wine are most largely used, while milk and cheese are more abundant, and potatoes are also consumed, pellagra is not met with. The lowlands, on the contrary, where maize is almost the sole food, and water the drink of the poorest classes, are a prey to this terrible malady, which begins as a skin disease, then attacks the digestive organs, and ends in suicidal monomania, generally taking the form of drowning. An entire change has taken place in the clothing of this district during the last forty years, cotton being substituted for the heavy shirtings, and boots and shoes for the wooden *zoccoli* or clogs. The women, too, except in the more remote districts, have abandoned their local costume of homespun woollen for cotton gowns. The condition of the dwellings of the rural population is undergoing improvement, especially in cases where villages built of wood have been destroyed by fire, and rebuilt of stone. It is still the custom for the peasants to occupy close unwholesome cowhouses, or small overheated rooms, as their chief living places, a practice very detrimental to health and cleanliness. The women generally occupy themselves in sewing, spinning, or weaving coarse stuffs, the men in repairing implements or making wooden household utensils for sale. There is a school in almost every village, and the number of wholly illiterate persons over seven years old declined between 1871 and 1881 from 53.28 to 43.04 per cent.

Sun Dance among the Blackfoot Indians.—The Rev. John McLean, a missionary to the Canadian Indians, actually witnessed the barbarous annual ceremony of the sun dance of the Blackfoot Indians, and described it at a meeting of the Canadian Institute of Toronto. A cruel ordeal undergone by the would-be warriors on these occasions was witnessed by him. A young man, with garlands of leaves round his head, ankles, and wrists, stepped into the centre of the lodge, and lay on a blanket and pillow on the ground. After a solemn panegyric on his virtue and valour, pronounced by an old man, to an accompaniment by the musicians, four men advanced and held the patient while another made incisions in his breast and back. Long skewers were inserted on each side in front, and at the back, in the left shoulder, to the latter of which a drum was attached. The victim having undergone this preliminary torture, rose, and one of the operators fastened the skewers in the breast by each end to lariats, or hide ropes, attached to the sacred pole, which the young man then embraced with both arms, praying earnestly for strength to undergo the coming ordeal. He then withdrew from the pole, dancing and flinging himself backwards, until the skewers holding the flesh gave way, and he fell to the ground. The drum attached to his shoulder he also tore away, dashing it on the floor amid the applause of the spectators. The lacerated strips of flesh were then cut away, and the ceremony was at an end. From two to five individuals undergo this torture every sun dance, and are then admitted to the band of noble warriors. It is sometimes done in fulfilment of a vow to the sun, made under some pressure of danger

or distress. There seems some analogy with the rites of Baal in Syria, as described in Scripture, when his priests cut and gashed themselves with knives while dancing round the altar, being unable to ignite their sacrifice in presence of the prophet.

British Bechuana Land.—The report of the Acting-Administrator as to the progress of the colony during the third year of its existence is in every respect satisfactory. Crime, of which theft of stock is the general form, has notably decreased, notwithstanding the difficulty created in dealing with it by the absence of an Extradition Treaty with the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Contraband sale of liquor is still more common than might be desired, as neither the natives nor the native police will give any help to the enforcement of the law against it.

The territory here in question has an area of 45,000 square miles, but is very thinly populated, and for two-thirds of its extent altogether without inhabitants. The climate is healthy, the atmosphere generally dry but purified by occasional winds and rains, hence the disease prevailing in some of the large towns is ascribed to native neglect of cleanliness and sanitation. Its agricultural capabilities are little developed, as English and Dutch farmers alike prefer to make a living by transport-riding rather than by cultivating their land. Native improvidence makes speculation in corn a lucrative business, as the producers, impatient to realize their profit, sell it when it is cheapest in order to buy it back from the dealers at an enhanced price some months later. The colony as yet does not pay its way, the total revenue receipts for six months, estimated at £8588, having fallen short of the expenditure by more than £20,000. The European element is gaining steadily on the native population, which will necessarily tend to the development of the economical resources of the country. The importance of the latter is derived from the fact that the principal trade route of the interior, that leading north to the Zambesi, passes through it, and that without its annexation its occupation by freebooters from the Transvaal would have cut off the Cape Colony from this line of communication.—(*Times*, April 20, 1889.)

Agriculture in North China.—A recent report from the American Minister to Peking gives some details of the rural husbandry of Northern China. Agriculture, like all other sciences, has made no advance for centuries, and the principles of rotation of crops, and adaptation of soil to particular forms of produce, are still unknown, while the implements in use are of the most primitive description. Minute attention to detail supplies the absence of scientific knowledge, and the care devoted to the culture of the fields is like that bestowed on a garden. The crop, incessantly watched and tended during its growth, is gathered by hand with such completeness that not a leaf or straw is allowed to remain. The grain is threshed with the flail or by a roller drawn by a donkey and winnowed by tossing in the air. Manure and irrigation are the great adjuncts of Chinese agriculture, all imaginable refuse being utilized for the former, and

the latter being effected not only by the canalization of surface water, but by the digging of wells and distribution of their supply by hand.

The implements, all of local hand manufacture, are mainly the plough, hoe, harrow, rake, and stone roller. The former is simply a broad blade fastened to a rough handle, cutting a furrow never more than six inches deep, and drawn by the most miscellaneous teams, frequently man and beast harnessed together. The crops round Pekin, in addition to fruit and vegetables, are principally wheat, barley, buckwheat, millet, beans, Indian corn, sesamum, hemp, rice, cotton, and tobacco. Wheat is planted in autumn and in spring, the earlier crop, sown not later than the beginning of October and harvested in the summer solstice, giving the better yield, both as to quantity and quality. The seed, of which about 130 pounds is allowed to the English acre, is not sown broadcast, but in furrows about eighteen inches apart, leaving room for hoeing and an intervening crop of vegetables between. Spring wheat, only grown when the ground has not been ready for the autumn crop, ripens about the same time, though sown as late as the beginning of April. Various kinds of millet, as well as beans and Indian corn, are grown in vast quantities, both for human and animal food. Rice ranks with silk and tea as one of the three main staples of Chinese culture. Although the absence of statistics excludes definite comparison, it is thought that from his more careful system and lavish expenditure of labour the Chinese farmer secures a larger increase on his seed than the average yield in the United States, though the practice of growing two crops on the same ground probably leads to the deterioration of both. China is essentially a treeless country, the numerous cemeteries alone being planted, but the Yellow River inundations have attracted attention to arboriculture, and Li Hung Chang has issued a proclamation requiring the officials in his province to plant trees in certain places, and advising the people to do so as well.

The Sukkur Bridge.—The Sukkur Bridge across the Indus, recently opened, was constructed by Messrs. Westwood & Baillie of Poplar, sent out in pieces, and put up on the spot within sixteen months after its arrival. The island of Bukkur, between the opposite points of Sukkur and Rohri, divides the bridge into two parts. That from Sukkur to the island, consisting of three spans, the longest 271 feet, is composed of ordinary girders, and has been completed since March 1885. The more remarkable engineering feat is the bridge from Bukkur to Rohri, generally termed the Sukkur Bridge. It is made on the cantilever principle, and has a length of 790 feet. From each side projects a cantilever of 310 feet, and the connecting link is supplied by a girder 200 feet in length. It is nearly twenty years since such a bridge was seen to be necessary in connection with the Indus Valley Railway, and the recent advance of communications and defensive works on the North-western frontier rendered its construction imperative.

India in 1887-88.—The official reports on the Indian provinces for the years 1887-88 include the result of an inquiry into the

condition of the lower classes in Bengal. It appears from this that in greater part of the Lower Provinces the inhabitants are sufficiently well-fed, and at no loss for subsistence. This relative prosperity, however, diminishes westward, and ceases on reaching Behar. Here, though the middle classes and larger cultivators are well-to-do, those who depend on daily labour, numbering about 40 per cent. out of a population of fifteen millions, earn a miserable livelihood. The system of early marriages, and consequent tendency of the population to increase up to the utmost limit of subsistence, is the cause of this state of things, for which there seems no remedy except the gradual effect of education in altering the habits of the people.

A generally favourable season throughout Madras led to an increase of half a million acres under cultivation, or three per cent., compared with the average of five years preceding the famine. The prices of all grains fell, while wages remained stationary, or rose under the influence of increased activity in various forms of public works.

The prosperity of the Bombay cotton industry continued unabated, and notwithstanding a large increase in production, there was no congestion of stocks, the markets of China and Japan continuing to absorb large quantities of Bombay goods. The number of spindles in the mills worked by steam-power increased throughout the Presidency, including the native States, from 1,698,797 to 1,779,220, and the number of mills in Bombay city from fifty to fifty-five. In the Bombay Presidency 1168 human beings were killed by snake bites, and 72 by wild animals, while 300,000 venomous snakes and 931 wild beasts were destroyed at a cost to Government of 11,658 rupees. More than half the deaths from animals were caused by tigers, panthers, and wolves, of which the two former were very destructive in Khandesh, and the latter in Scinde.

Railway Construction in China.—The railway between Tientsin and the Kaiping mines, completed in the summer of 1888, is now open for traffic throughout, and the report of the British Consul at Tientsin gives some details of its construction. It is 85 miles long, and cost £4250 per mile, inclusive of engines and rolling stock, as well as of a considerable sum spent on stations, wharves, &c. The rails have come from Bolekow & Vaughan, with the exception of 600 tons of light rails from Krupp. Rolling stock is built on the spot from iron chiefly purchased in England, a saving of freight on bulky cargoes being thus effected, and the company being enabled to manufacture in conformity with local requirements. The passenger cars, of teak, steel-framed, are fifty-five feet long, and carry more than 100 people, the total cost of each being about £550. The engines are English, built on the American principle, the best suited for light rails on rough roads, all save one, which is American built, and though twenty per cent. dearer than the others, is found to beat them in working perform-

ance, owing to more perfect adjustment of its parts. Steel fire-boxes are found to last longer and give less trouble than copper ones, though the engines only run about 200 miles without being cooled for washing out. The rails used are of Sandberg standard sections, forty-five pounds, sixty pounds, and seventy pounds per yard being the sizes employed, and the Consul thinks railmakers would do well to appoint local agents, and arrange code systems to cheapen telegraphing. It is impossible to say what further railway extension may be impending, and the prolongation of the existing line to Tungchow near Pekin is again under discussion, having been dropped some little time ago in consequence of the opposition of the conservative party in the capital.—(*Times*, June 15, 1889.)

Notes on Novels.

The Two Chiefs of Dunboy. By J. A. FROUDE. London: Longmans. 1889.

MR. FROUDE'S historical romance contains a good deal of history and very little romance, if love be an indispensable ingredient of that class of fiction. It gives, as might be expected, a striking picture of Irish society in the last century, nor has any class of the nation he portrays cause for pride in his delineation. The ineptitude of temporizing English statesmanship, the corruption of Dublin officialism, and the self-seeking cowardice of the country gentry are depicted with no less stinging satire than the slovenly savagery of the lower classes. The only character with a redeeming virtue is an English officer, Colonel Goring, whose efforts to develop the resources of the country by means of a Protestant English colony, with his persecution and ultimate death, form the subject of the story. The rival Chief of Dunboy, whom he has dispossessed, is Murty O'Sullivan, heir of an ancient and noble name, but driven to seek service as a proscribed exile under the standards of foreign sovereigns. His piratical exploits and hair-breadth escapes form a thrilling chapter, described with all Mr. Froude's well-known vividness of narrative. His character is less happily drawn, as he is made too good for the part he has to play, as his finale is the murder of his chief opponent. This hero was a veritable historical personage, and the grandfather of the present writer could remember having seen his head blackening on the gates of Cork to which it was affixed as that of a traitor. The part of Colonel Goring was played by Captain Puxley, whose descendants

still have a large interest in the Berehaven mines first worked by him. Some of the most ludicrous incidents in Mr. Froude's delineation of Dublin society are taken from contemporary memoirs, but are not perhaps necessarily true on that account.

Greifenstein. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London :
Macmillan & Co. 1889.

MR. CRAWFORD has founded his fiction on a plot so gruesome and apparently improbable that one is fain to believe the assertion in the first volume that it is based on fact. If his object be, like the fat boy in "Pickwick," to make the reader's "flesh creep," he certainly has attained it in the accumulation of horrors in the opening of the second volume. There is, however, something inartistic in the way the climax is hurried on, and in the unredeemed savagery of the principal actors in the tragedy. The hero, Greif von Greifenstein, is, however, a pleasant picture of ingenuous youth, and his half-brother, Rex, a strikingly conceived character. We can scarcely say as much for Hilda, the heroine, whose strength of purpose is rather of a masculine than feminine type. Nor does the author appear very familiar with the etiquettes of German courtship, according to which a solemn betrothal, almost as binding as a marriage, giving the lady the title of "Braut," and the right to her future husband's name with the addition "verlobt," would have preceded the final tying of the knot. It is impossible to take up a German newspaper without seeing the announcements of betrothals as formally inserted as actual marriages, and they are occasionally even advertised in the first page of the *Times*. In his description of German student life, Mr. Crawford is evidently on more familiar ground, and his account of the manners and customs prevailing at a university, which may probably be identified with that of Bonn-on-the-Rhine, gives a vivid picture of a curious phase of existence. Those scientific duels, whose results are to be seen on many a scarred face of Teutonic manhood, are described with a precision of detail which will be new and curious to many readers.

The Despot of Broomsedge Cove. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK.
London : Sampson Low & Co. 1889.

EACH new work of the author who writes under the above name calls forth a fresh sensation of surprise and admiration at the versatility which can invest the scenery and people of the Tennessee highlands with a perennial charm. The critic, on the other hand, is compelled to ask himself if this limitation of range must not eventually stunt powers of production, which should be as yet only in their earliest maturity. Will the creative faculty not weary or wear out sooner than it might do were a larger area opened up to its

possibilities of future development? At present there is no sign of diminution of vigour or freshness, and the group of characters of which "The Despot of Broomsedge Cove" is the central figure is portrayed with the same incisive distinctiveness and humorous appreciation of the hidden springs of action so conspicuous in the author's earlier works. If we have neither the visionary charm of "In the Clouds," nor the spiritual exaltation touched in "The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains," we have perhaps more brilliancy in incidental episodes, and greater subtlety in differentiation of shades of character. It is curious that, with so complete a difference in local setting and types of humanity, the writer should, in some of her poignant touches of discrimination, recall the author of "Adam Bede," though her semi-cynicism is softened by a tenderness of sympathy and airy grace of style which are not found in the elder novelist. Her sketches of feminine rusticity are etched with a keenness of satiric insight that calls to mind the immortal Mrs. Poyser, while her realizations of animal and infant life are beyond even those of the great delineator of rustic manners in the English Midlands.

The Englishman of the Rue Cain. By H. F. WOOD. London: Chatto & Windus. 1889.

THE detective police in Paris and their part in the unravelment of a mysterious crime have again furnished the author of "The Passenger from Scotland Yard" with the material for his plot. The leading female part is played by an English lady, typical of the class known as professional beauties, and exercising a fatal influence over all who come within her sphere by the spell of her overpowering loveliness. A chain of circumstantial evidence seems for a time to point to her as the actual murderess of the solitary Englishman, once her engaged and abandoned lover, by whose death her husband inherits a large fortune. The really guilty parties are, however, brought to justice in the end, and the heroine is left rehabilitated, so far as the actual crime is concerned. The tale is enlivened by much brilliant though superficial character sketching, and by incidental side-lights, suggesting rather than revealing glimpses of contemporary life and manners. The Bohemians and Alsations of the French capital furnish the favourite types of the author, and he succeeds in limning them by a few graphic touches, occasionally intensified with lurid power. The career of the murdered Englishman, with its opening of thwarted passion and its close of semi-insane fanaticism, gives a tragical background to the story, and, as an imaginative conception, entitles the author to a higher place among writers of fiction than any of his previous work, suggesting powers which should produce something better than a mere romance of crime.

Dolly. By JUSTIN H. MACCARTHY. London:
Chatto & Windus. 1889.

THIS slight but graceful story is properly described on the title-page as a "a sketch." The plot is almost non-existent, the events are of the most everyday description, and only the subtle undertone of sentiment pervading its pages gives interest to what would be otherwise a mere transcript from commonplace life. The subject is essentially modern, as the half-hearted lover, who only recognizes the nature of his torpid feelings when the lady who is their object is about to be appropriated by another, would not have found favour as a hero with the more robust novelists of an older generation. One cannot help feeling, too, that happiness so easily missed will not be long lamented, and that very profound sympathy would be wasted on the languid regrets of the tardy wooer.

The Legacy of Cain. By WILKIE COLLINS. London:
Chatto & Windus. 1889.

THE practised hand of the author shows no lack of its old skill in constructing a plot, although signs of rude and careless workmanship are apparent in the working out of its details. The fundamental idea is a good one, the child of a convicted murderess being adopted by a charitable clergyman, and brought up with his own daughter, while the secret of her origin is carefully concealed. The theory of heredity is boldly set at naught by the development of the respectably born girl into a heartless and unscrupulous intriguer, while the child of the criminal, despite a murderous impulse in a state of somnambulistic trance, grows up all sweetness and amiability. Little pains is taken to reconcile the incidents arising from these complications with the ordinary tendencies of human nature, and the impression left on the reader's mind is correspondingly unsatisfactory.

The Lass that loved a Soldier. By G. MANVILLE FENN.
London: Ward & Downey. 1889.

THE author has constructed an exciting tale out of the adventures of a young man of good birth driven to enlist by harsh treatment at home. There is a further complication in his destiny owing to the fact that he is not really the child of his pseudo-parents, but of a cousin of his nominal father's, who has had him stolen in infancy in revenge for a love disappointment. The chapter of accidents leads to his entering the very lancer regiment of which his real but unknown father is colonel, and in which he has to undergo a savage persecution from the jealousy of his comrades and superiors. He not only distinguishes himself by brilliant feats of horsemanship, but wins the affections of the colonel's adopted daughter, whose hand is the prize eagerly striven for by the younger

officers of the regiment. His adventures under these circumstances are thrillingly narrated, and the culminating scene, in which he is led out to be shot as a deserter, and the method and manner of his escape, are given with real tragic power. Of course his true parentage is revealed, and his reinstatement in his proper rank of life enables his previously hopeless wooing of the heroine to be carried on to its legitimate conclusion. It is a pity that the opening of so interesting a story should be marred by the unnecessary vulgarity of the low courtship which is only so far connected with the subsequent action as that it leads to the degrading marriage of the villain and the triumph of his rival in securing the hand of the lady they are both competing for.

Derrick Vaughan, Novelist. By EDNA LYALL. London:
Methuen & Co. 1889.

THIS tale, like the author's longer works, has the merit of teaching a lesson of self-sacrifice and duty. What a ghastly responsibility is thrown upon Derrick Vaughan in the first flush of his early manhood, when all the hopes of life and love are opening before him, we will leave the reader to discover for himself, but it is at any rate one which to his conscientious spirit admits of neither evasion nor postponement. To it he sacrifices for the time all his present and his future, the yet unfulfilled dreams of a reciprocated attachment, and to a great extent the promise of his literary career. A comparatively worthless twin-brother eclipses and supplants him, not only with his lady-love, but in his inheritance, and the burning of a cherished manuscript in a fit of malignant wrath by the object of all his solicitude fills his cup of bitterness to overflowing. Happily the book is not all pitched in the minor key; deliverance comes before it is too late, and happiness and success are in the end the reward of virtue. The scale of the work does not admit of much elaboration of character, but that of the hero is a life-like conception portrayed in life-like touches.

The Open Door. By BLANCHE WILLIS HOWARD. London:
Sampson Low. 1889.

THE rare power of creating a life-like group of characters, capable of retaining our interest by force of sympathy alone, enables the author of "*Guenn*" to dispense with the stage machinery of elaborately contrived plot. The whole action centres round the invalid couch of Hugo von Kronfels, a young German nobleman, crippled by an accident at seven-and-twenty, when in the heyday of youth and fortune. The analysis of his character and mental attitude is full of power, though of a somewhat morbid kind, and it would have been rendered more pleasing, as well as more elevating,

if some influence of Christian resignation had been admitted among the philosophical arguments which he brings to bear on the expediency of shortening his sufferings by suicide. This gloomy study is, however, lightened by the humorous and vivid picture of the dowager Countess von Kronfels, with her impenetrable selfishness, her incalculable caprices, her tyrannical temper, and her perpetual search for the imaginary and unattainable friend and companion whose sympathy shall fill the void in her sensitive soul. She in her turn has her tyrant in an ill-conditioned cur on whom she lavishes the most obsequious idolatry, and whose canine malignities are made a most artistic counterpoise to her own.

It is as the visitor and slave of this despotic dame that the heroine, Gabrielle von Dohna, a fresh and unspoiled girl-cousin, appears upon the scene to break down the barrier of embittered feeling behind which the crippled Count tries to mask all the unsatisfied cravings of his nature. We will not say that such an attachment is impossible among the infinite caprices of girlhood, but it is no small proof of the author's art to have made it seem credible in fiction. *Æsthetically*, we think the situation would require to be saved by some hint or promise of the Count's recovery, but of this the somewhat abrupt ending gives no sign. An artistic stonemason, introduced into the aristocratic group, is a successful and impressive delineation, with much more of interest than is generally inspired by the clever working-man of fiction. The scene is laid in Germany, and the secondary characters forming the fashionable society of a small capital are a series of spirited sketches.

The Reproach of Annesley. By MAXWELL GRAY. London: Kegan Paul. 1889.

THAT the author who writes under the name of Maxwell Gray can tell a story with considerable *véraisemblance* was abundantly proved in "The Silence of Dean Maitland," and the same faculty makes this tale readable and interesting in spite of many violations of probability and consistency of character. The catastrophe is sufficiently led up to by previous hints as to the latent possibilities in the principal actor in it, nor is there anything untrue to nature in the paroxysm of passion on his part which precipitates it. His subsequent disappearance and eventual resuscitation are more difficult to reconcile with the ordinary course of events in real life. But the chief artistic blemish of the book is the cold-hearted reserve of the heroine, who, on very slight foundation, is ready to suspect the man she professes to love of homicide or murder, crimes which even an ordinary acquaintance should have made her believe him incapable of. Not only does she coldly and harshly reject him on this ground, but she accepts, with equal readiness and absence of adequate motive, another man who is really unworthy, and whom she does not love. An eventual *éclaircissement* shifting the blame of the mystification

to his shoulders, and establishing the innocence of his rival, does not reconcile us to these defects in the structure of the story, as they leave us without interest in what ought to be its principal personage. The repentance of the criminal, as a member of a religious order, is narrated with considerable sympathy for Catholic institutions, though we believe the writer is not himself a Catholic.

The Nether World. A Novel. By GEORGE GISSING, Author of "Demos," &c. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1889.

"**T**HE Nether World" is not, as the hasty reader might be led to expect, a prose version of an "Epic of Hades," but a picture of life in Clerkenwell Close and Shooter's Gardens. It is a very melancholy book, for it describes, in language which is only too truthful, grinding toil, hopeless poverty, and drunken degradation. The writer knows how to make his characters real and living. He has a felicity and liveliness of descriptive use of dialogue which not unfrequently remind us of Dickens, but he differs very materially from Dickens in two points: he never paints the bright side of labour and poverty, and he talks a great deal too much in his own person. The story, with all that is good and characteristic in it, might have been presented in one volume. As it is, we have interminable padding, in the shape of analysis of characters which require not even a footnote, but only the record of their doings and of their conversations, to make them perfectly transparent to the most obtuse of readers. Charles Dickens has been accused of describing his characters "from the waistcoat outwards." But most people are really most effectively described in that way. When a young woman is ill-tempered at home, hard to her poor father who works for her, rude to her excellent "young man," and smitten with the stage, we do not need about a hundred pages of essay-writing to understand that her nature is discontented, cold, and ambitious. Miss Clara Hewett is the girl in question. The Hewett family, with its struggle to live, its squalor and its hopelessness, is presented with a truth that is absolutely heartrending. Its friends and connections are all, in their several ways, fighting the battle of life against low wages, multiplying children, loss of work, and the curse of drink. Quarrels, debauchery, and crime are the very atmosphere of the courts and alleys where the story lies. There is even murder, though it happens behind the scenes. Where the author fails is that there is not a trace or glimmer of religion in the book. There are one or two respectable people, there is a model working man, a "Little Nell" sort of a girl, and cheerful Mrs. Byass, the lodging-house keeper. But Sidney Kirkwood, the admirable mechanic, is dry, and even priggish, with no outlook and no idea of a higher life, a future life, or a heavenly Father. Jane Snowden, first a drudge, then a quiet, kind girl, who nourishes a secret love for Sidney (much her senior),

and is represented as deeply fond of a wooden old grandfather, is as bloodless as a sawdust doll. One is really tempted to think that the quarrelling and cursing people, with their passions, their occasional enjoyment of life, and their bank-holidays at the Crystal Palace, are after all better off than these altruistic prigs and lay-figures. But they are all pitiable enough, and it would almost seem as if the book had been written to show that between this London "Nether World" and a certain other locality which sometimes goes by that name there is but little to choose. A little cheerfulness might have been imparted, without doing violence to probabilities. The Byass household seems at first to promise well; there is a "Boz" humour about the ridiculous young husband and his good-hearted, simple wife, and it causes a pang to think what the historian of Mr. and Mrs. Tetterby would have made of a chance like this. But the author seems to repent of a lapse into frivolity, and before the book ends even Sam Byass and Bessie his wife seem to be in a fair way to make each other miserable. This rouses the reader's resentment, and he is comparatively indifferent when the last page exhibits Jane and Sidney, never to be united, standing side by side in a cemetery, on the occasion of an anniversary visit to the grave of the old impostor of a grandfather, for whom neither could possibly have even pretended to mourn for a month.

For a King! An Historical Romance. By T. S. SHARWOOD. Two vols. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

IT is not easy to determine whether history is more easily spoilt by a blend of romance, or romance by an infusion of history. Some history is romantic, and some romance has really happened; but such instances should be presented as nature brought them about, with as little interference from the artist as possible. The best parts of this book are those in which the writer lets history alone. The scene is laid in the days of the great Civil War—the period between the arrest of the five members and the fight of Naseby; but the love affairs, such as they are, of Maria Wyndham and Roland Arundell, and of Maud Wyndham and Lord Digby, would have been more interesting if we had had nothing whatever of King Charles, Prince Rupert, and Sir John Hotham. Yet, in fairness, it should be said that the picture of Lord Digby—who is the real hero of the story, and who pervades the book from beginning to end—is very life-like and accurate. It is indeed too accurate for good romance, for his varying moods seem incoherent, and his career is not explained with that perspicuity which is needful to make it interesting. There is a great deal of conversation in the two volumes, from which the young and ingenuous reader will gather some idea of the troubles of those times. The tone of the whole book is high, and the language correct, eloquent, and sometimes pathetic. A large number of well-

known Catholic names figure in it—Welds, Arundells, Vaughans, Fairfaxes, Denbighs, &c. The foreign tongues, which are, however, very sparingly introduced, have fared badly at the hands of the printer, and even Burns is ludicrously misspelt. But, in spite of these and other drawbacks, the book may be recommended as a bright and wholesome bit of historical painting, not without serious and touching scenes.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik*.

F. SWITHBERT BAUMER, of the Belgian Benedictine Abbey of Maredsous, continues his learned contributions on the history of the Roman Breviary. He first points out the influence exercised by S. Gregory the Great, who may fitly be styled the father of the new period, for from his pontificate the beginnings of the middle ages is to be traced. Charlemagne also took a prominent part in pushing the Roman liturgy. He was not content with assisting at the divine office in his famed basilica of Our Lady at Aachen, but also exerted himself in recommending the Roman liturgy to the other churches of his vast empire. From the beginning of the eleventh century the Roman liturgy held the ground over the entire Western Church, except at Milan, Lyons, and Toledo. A second article deals with the internal development of the liturgy, and deserves special notice. It treats of the distribution of the psalms and the growing use of sacred hymns.

Other articles are devoted to the history of the great contest raging in Belgium over the schools. They are well done, and founded on official documents. In the April number Professor Hettinger, our great "apologist" of Christianity, whose chief work is now being translated into English, treats of Theology and Science. Under the form of a letter written to a student of theology, he shows what are the principles as to the study of nature to which the Church has always adhered. What he urges is not a comprehensive knowledge of all the departments of science. That would be beyond the power of even the most gifted theologian. But he advocates that scholars in theology and philosophy should make themselves acquainted with such results of scientific investigations as stand the test of criticism. This would suffice for keeping philosophy up to

the demands of the age. Our author dwells on the testimony of the Fathers and schoolmen as to the urgent necessity of studying nature and by the results illustrating the doctrines of theology and philosophy. In the May and June issues I wrote a memoir of the late lamented Archbishop Ullathorne.

2. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

Father Paul de Hoensbroech contributes a series of learned and timely articles on the temporal power of the Holy See. They contain a luminous exposition of the Papal encyclicals on this delicate topic, so intimately connected as it is with the free exercise of spiritual jurisdiction. In a style that reminds one of Lord Macaulay's Essay on the Popes, in which he reviews Ranke, our author traces the eventful history of the States of the Church, and finally deals with the question of the indispensable necessity of temporal power for the Pope in our time. A Papal sovereignty in the full meaning of the word would be a sheer impossibility at the present time, were it not supported by the temporal power. Father Zimmermann has a long review of Father Gasquet's book on the suppression of the English monasteries by Henry VIII. We are glad to see Father Gasquet's learned work thus brought to the notice of the German public, among whom it is so well calculated to, and will, we hope, help to destroy the dense prejudice on the subject, by establishing a more correct view as to Henry's real intentions in seizing on the property of the Church and the poor. I cannot refrain from calling attention to Father Baumgartner's excellent article on the late Mr. Herder, of Freiburg. It is full of stirring memories of this pious man, the very ideal of a Catholic publisher, and who, in his private life, was an example of a conscientious Christian and Catholic. It is worth mentioning that many of our most important Catholic scientific works in Germany have been due to Mr. Herder's initiative. His solid learning enabled him to suggest to his guests plans of literary undertakings which afterwards proved of singular benefit to the Catholic cause. Father Boetzkes, in another article, shows plainly what are the intentions of our modern pagans with regard to school education. Finally, Father Hagen writes on the development of astronomy during the three last centuries.

3. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

Father Bäumer's thoughtful articles on Cluny and the reform of convents proceeding from that monastery in the tenth century will be interesting not only to the Benedictine but to every scholar of mediæval history. The articles have appeared just as the Pope summoned the Austrian Benedictine Abbots to meet at Salzburg under Cardinal Vanutelli to plan the establishment of Benedictine

congregations in the Austrian empire. English Catholics, and more particularly priests who have been educated in Rome, will read with pleasure the article in the April number, entitled "Count Spaur and Gaeta." When the Count, who in 1848 represented the Bavarian Government in Rome, died in 1854, a memoir of him in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* spoke of a momentous event, in which the Count took a prominent part, as having led to his memory being blessed by countless thousands of Christians. The event referred to was that of the night of November 24, 1848, when Count Spaur saved the life of Pius IX. The article contains two original documents, one the letter written by Pius IX. from Gaeta, November 27, 1848, to Count Spaur, in which the Pope speaks of his deep gratitude and confers on him the Grand Cross of the Order of Pius; and the second, a letter of Count Spaur from Naples, December 25, 1848, to his brother Frederick, in which, describing the flight of the Pope from Rome, he says: "I stood behind the Pope, holding a loaded pistol in my hand, prepared to defend his spiritual power with my secular arm." In two articles in the *Blätter* I essayed to make known to Catholic Germany two important works—i.e., Father Coleridge's "Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton" and Mr. Fitzpatrick's "Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator." Professor Keppler's work, "Württemberg's kirchliche Kunstalterthümer," deserves the attention of art students. Though generally considered as a stronghold of Protestantism, Württemberg has nevertheless preserved a vast quantity of ecclesiastical antiquities which bear witness to the powerful influence of the Catholic Church in every department of art.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

L'Université Catholique, No. 1. 15 Mai, 1889. Lyon: Vitte & Perrussel, Place Bellecour, 3.

IN May 1884 the well known *Contemporain* was merged in the *Controverse*, and now both of these titles disappear to give place to that of *L'Université Catholique*; but there is no other change that we can see—the magazine remains substantially what it has been hitherto. The editors are still "Un Comité de Professeurs des Facultés catholiques de Lyon," and the *savans* and others who have written in the *Controverse* will continue to do so under the new title. The magazine deserves to be known as the organ of the Lyons "Faculté," and perhaps, therefore, the change of name (otherwise, one would think, more or less a puerility) is a distinct advantage.

The character of the new number is in keeping with its programme previously. The editors endeavour to combine in fait proportions good contributions on the various subjects which concern the several schools of a Catholic faculty, written in a style to

interest and instruct the Catholic public. Theology, Scripture, Church and Secular History, "Apology," social, and even political questions, so far as they have a Catholic aspect and importance, all these subjects find in turn a place in this deserving monthly, in which the editors—as, with this new series, they again proclaim—hope to work for "la propagation des vérités religieuses, la défense de la foi et de tous ses intérêts, l'affermissement de l'enseignement catholique à tous ses degrés et sa pleine indépendance." There appears also each number a "Chronique," a chatty, pleasant paper, making brief record of passing events at home and abroad of Catholic interest. From time to time there appear two papers similar in style, but more especially devoted to now scientific matters, now historical, or Scriptural, &c. The book-notices in the *Controverse* we may also mention, have been, we found, more reliable—as being more critical and discriminating—than French reviews, at least Catholic ones, too frequently are. It may be useful to add, finally, that the subscription (postage to this country included) is, for a year 24 francs, 13 francs for six months.

The present number opens—after a few words "à nos lecteurs"—with a valuable posthumous paper by the eminent professor, Le Hir, entitled "Résumé chronologique de la Vie du Sauveur." Scripture students will look to this with considerable expectation. It has been presented to the magazine by M. Vigouroux, the scarcely less well-known Sulpitian professor of Scripture, who writes a few introductory lines. The "Résumé," he tells us, has long been known to some of Le Hir's scholars, who made their own MS. copies of it during their course, but it is now first published, and from a copy in Le Hir's own handwriting which was found among his papers after his death. It was used by him in his course on the Gospels in 1855-56, and in it the Professor often makes reference to Father Patrizi's recently published work on the Gospels (1853), especially where he treats of the birth and baptism of our Lord. Le Hir "gives in the first two parts of his dissertation, a system of chronology which is at the present day little in favour; but the real point of interest in his work is in his exposition of the journeys of our Lord. He discusses the text with the sagacity of a man profoundly versed, as he was, in Scriptural science. The most original part is that where he tries to establish that the mention made three times by St. Luke of a journey of Jesus to Jerusalem, in the last year of His ministry, must relate to one and the same journey, of which the Evangelist gave three relations, 'd'après des originaux Araméens.' His chronology of the first year of our Lord's public ministry will also be read with interest, as in it he departs somewhat from the order generally followed." Thus speaks M. Vigouroux. When the paper is concluded, in a future number, we shall try to give a more detailed account of it.

We must be content to refer only to the other articles in this number. "M. Emery et l'Eglise de France sous la Révolution et l'Empire," by M. C. De Lajudie, continued from former numbers

and not yet completed, goes over, though in much greater detail, the same ground as Father Ryder's article on M. Émery in a recent issue of this Review. This is followed by an article by M. L. Bourgain, Professor of History at Angers, entitled "*La Régale: Autrefois et Aujourd'hui*," which is begun, but is to be continued in future numbers. It deals with an article having the same title, that lately appeared in the *Études religieuses*, &c., by Father Desjardins, S.J. professor of Canon Law at Toulouse (see the *Études*, December, 1888, and January, February, and March, 1889). M. Bourgain shares, as he says, the sentiments of Père Desjardins, when he deplores the oppressive and uncanonical action of the present French Government towards endowed dioceses. Formerly when a bishop died, or a see became otherwise vacant, the administration of the diocese passed into the hands of the chapter and the vicar whom the chapter elected—and the State stood aloof. But now, "since France has had the fortune"—we quote Père Desjardins' ironic expression—"to live under a Republican Government," there is a change. Scarcely has a French bishop closed his eyes when the Treasury seizes the *mensa episcopalis* like a vulture its prey. An administrator is named, and he lays hands on all the possessions of the bishop, gathers in rents, &c., sells property, and places the price in State securities, and when the new bishop comes, instead of his lawful means of supporting his *mensa*, presents him with "*des titres qu'emportera, dans un avenir plus ou moins lointain, la banqueroute révolutionnaire*." This high-handed practice has only one semblance of historical precedent—the "*régale*" of the old kings of France—the name alone, Père Desjardins thinks, ought to frighten the French ultra-republicans. This is the oppression which both writers, M. Bourdain and Père Desjardins equally regret. M. Bourdain now takes up the pen, because he differs from the Jesuit writer as to (1) the origin of the "*régale*" and (2) as to its practice. We await the completion of M. Bourdain's paper.

Revue des Questions Historiques, Janvier, Avril. Paris. 1889.

The Origin of Private Property in Land.—The vicious *à priori* method of inquiry in moral and economical subjects is now generally discredited. Like other long-prevailing errors, however, it died hard, and like some of them, too, it comes to life again from time to time in a new and more subtle form. We have to be continually on our guard against false theories, whose only basis is the pure reason of their propounders, but which are set forth with a parade of historical and comparative proofs. M. Fustel de Coulanges opens the April number of the *Revue* with a long article on the origin of private property in land. He examines with great care the arguments in favour of the theory of agrarian communism. The discussion of the theory itself does not come within his scope. As to this he professes himself indifferent; but he insists that the

proofs of it are inadequate. Agrarian communism is, according to him, the product of the spurious application of the historical and comparative methods. The chief adversary with whom he deals is M. de Laveleye, whose book, "*De la propriété et de ses formes primitives*," is subjected to severe criticism. At the end of his article, M. Fustel de Coulanges lays down the conditions which he deems requisite for a satisfactory proof of agrarian communism. They are admirably stated, but they are far too rigid; the nature of the question and the scarcity of documents make it impossible to fulfil them.

The learned historian of the great persecutions, M. Paul Allard, contributes an interesting paper on the persecution in the Roman army at the time of the division of the empire under Diocletian. The Christians were very numerous under the banners of the four emperors, and were at first treated with favour, or at least with tolerance. The Montanist heretics, however, brought discredit on the Christian name, by refusing all military service. M. Allard gives a touching account of the trial and execution of a Montanist for this offence.

M. Marius Sepet's article, "*La Société Française à la veille de la Révolution*," will be read with interest at the present time.

In the January number there is a notice of the death of M. Gustave Masson, who, though not a Catholic, contributed for many years the "*Courrier Anglais*" to the *Revue*. The Abbé Vacandard writes on St. Bernard and the schism of Anacletus II. in Italy; the Abbé Batiffol on the Vatican library since the time of Paul III.; and M. Secour on the French Republic and the Republic of Genoa, 1794-1799.

T. B. S.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 20 Aprile, 1889.

Effect of the Revolution on Property.—The *Civiltà Cattolica* has been in process of giving some opportune articles upon the "New Civilization," which the advocates of the Revolution of 1789 believe it to have imparted to the world and to society at large. It has examined the sophisms by which this pretence has been supported, and the fallacies through which it has imposed itself on such numbers, who have never concerned themselves to examine the subject, or have lacked either the opportunity or the power of doing so. The "Principles" of '89, the gospel of the Revolution, have been accepted on trust as containing the germ of all the blessings, social and political, which, in spite of the horrors that accompanied its outbreak and triumph, are supposed to be its legitimate fruit. Of these horrors the writer gives a brief yet striking sketch, but it is to the article which appeared on the 20th of April that we must limit our notice. Having already in previous numbers drawn attention to the unquestionable fact that modern Socialism existed in germ in the French Revolution, the

writer here proceeds to show that never was a grosser error fabricated and accredited than the assertion that it was the means of giving or restoring to the peasantry property in land, hitherto the exclusive privilege of the nobility and clergy, the fact being that, while at the present day the small proprietors in France possess only the eighth or ninth portion of the cultivated soil, previous to the Revolution they owned the quarter. Besides the testimony of other foreign travellers, the Englishman, Arthur Young, did not hesitate to assert that he knew of no country where agricultural property was more parcelled out and subdivided than in France. Indeed the preponderance of small rural properties, and the progressive absorption of the larger, had begun to attract the attention of economists of the time.

The ruin of property in France is, in fact, to be sought in the exaggerated idea which the Revolution set up of the State, which, hampering and usurping all right of private action, succeeded in intruding itself despotically into every department, and, to satisfy the enormous needs thus created, overwhelmed private fortune in all possible forms in order to squeeze as much money out of it as it could, this burden ultimately falling on the land. If the panegyrists of the Revolution will persist in calling this the enfranchisement of landed property, words have changed their meaning. Before reaching this point the Revolution, under the pretence of satisfying the national creditors, had laid its rapacious hands on the property of the clergy and on a large portion of that of the nobility, as well as the Crown lands; and the writer has little trouble in showing that, so far from profiting by this iniquitous spoliation, the poor agriculturists endured the heaviest loss. Moreover, an admirable lesson was offered to the Socialists of our day, who are not slow to profit by it, and avail themselves of the sanction given by the confiscations of the first revolutionary assembly in France, to declaim against the rights of property. But the chief object of the writer is to trace the impoverishment of the French nation to the reckless acts of the Revolution of '89, and to point out how, as great injustices entail great calamities, so the plundering acts of States, whether Monarchies or Republics, have their result in economic decadence and national misery.

We quote the concluding paragraph, as summing up the subject: "The Revolution, which is the domination of force over right, did not repair the abuses of property, but prepared its ruin. It promised to respect and spare the goods of citizens, and it appropriated them as if they were its own possession; it promised to create prosperity, and it brought misery; it promised to abolish privileges, and it created monopolies; it promised to do away with fiscal rigours and the vexation of exactors, but it substituted the tyranny of speculators; it promised to draw only on the rich, and it ended by draining the whole nation. After this, is it unjust to say that it was a liar no less than a robber? To crown the misfortune, this Revolution, to which the sword of Bonaparte seemed to have put an end, raised its head again after his fall, protected by Freemasonry

allied with Judaism ; and after a hundred years we hear "Vive '89" repeated as if a century of ruins had not sufficed to convince the world that the Revolution is the negation of God, of civilization, of property, of the family."

A subsequent article which appeared on May 18 is devoted to the consideration of the Revolution in its essentially anti-Christian character.

6 April, 18 Maggio, 1889.

The Shepherd Kings.—In the number for April 6 we have another article on the Hyksôs, the subject being their disputed origin and nationality. After noticing the various opinions entertained by the learned, and the reasons by which they respectively support their views, the writer adds that, whatever may be the value of those reasons, which he does not undertake to discuss, the hypotheses on which they are grounded are, from their very nature, imperfect and defective, because not founded on a sound estimate of the question. For, in truth, the foreign invaders of the valley of the Nile, known by the general appellation of the Hyksôs, were not of one single and common country, but an assemblage or confederation of people belonging to divers nations and of various races, who, however, were united in one common aim, under the leadership, or hegemony, of one or more princes belonging to a nation, tribe, or particular family from whom the whole confederation took its name. The history of Asiatic invasions (he contends), as well as those of the wars of the Pharaohs against the Asiatic nations, and the very political constitution of these peoples themselves, all combine to demonstrate the truth of this view, as do also many of the Egyptian monuments. Indeed, when we remember that the Hyksôs succeeded in retaining subject to their rule for several centuries one of the most powerful monarchies of the world, we may well believe that, unless their number and strength had been very formidable, this would have been impossible. Not one of the rations of either Eastern or Western Asia, to whom has been attributed the conquest and domination over Egypt, would, taken singly, have been equal to such an achievement.

Another article on the Hyksôs appeared on May 15. Here the causes of their success in the conquest of Egypt are discussed, a very difficult subject, owing to the scarcity of historical documents and the length of time which has elapsed. It has been conjectured that a state of anarchy in the country may have been the cause, or internal dissension, but these are pure conjectures, not supported by any record. The Egyptian historian, Manetho, gives no reason, save that God must have been angry with them. He says that the invasion of the Eastern part—that is, Lower Egypt—was sudden, that no resistance was made, the prefects or governors being compelled to submit. The Hyksôs, he says, proceeded to burn their cities, cast down their temples and gods, and treat the people with savage cruelty. There is nothing to corroborate this account in existing monuments of a later date,

where, with the exception of the terms pest and scourge applied to the invaders, no record of their barbarity can be discovered. Besides, if Manetho's tradition was correct, and their temples and gods were shattered to pieces, how is it that the monumental remains of the ancient dynasties are found in such numbers perfectly intact amidst the ruins of these old cities? Manetho's assertion that the Hyksôs met with no armed resistance on their invasion of the Valley of the Nile is hardly reconcilable with the perpetration of such acts of cruelty as he lays to their charge. The opposite policy was far more likely to be adopted by a confederation of nations desiring to make a fixed settlement than one of ferocious violence, which the weakness of Egypt in face of their overwhelming numbers, which probably was the true cause of their success, rendered as needless as it was unprovoked. The invaders, we may surmise, acted with moderation, since they seem to have conformed themselves to the manners of the aborigines, and even adopted their language. The Pharaohs, or kings of Upper Egypt, were unable to expel them from Lower Egypt, whose prefects or kings had been their subordinates. At what period the Hyksôs succeeded in supplanting these supreme monarchs, and in placing one of their own race on the throne of the ancient Pharaohs, we are ignorant, but we know that for several centuries they were lords of Egypt, and have good reason to believe that it was during their dominion that Jacob and his sons were hospitably received at the time of famine and settled in the fertile land of Gessen. Under indigenous Egyptian kings, if we are to judge by the behaviour of some of them in later times, the Hebrews would have met with many vexations instead of enjoying the tranquil settlement bestowed on them by the Shepherd Kings, moved by a special benevolence towards men of kindred race and mode of life.

4 Maggio, 1889.

Political Economy.—The series of articles on Political Economy is continued. In the number for April 6, we have one on the mooted question of an international agreement among States with regard to the working classes. Having in a previous number considered the miserable condition to which free competition had reduced the operatives, the writer specified several cases in which Government intervention and protection was desirable—viz., as to the length of hours of daily work, the quality and amount of women's work, the age at which children may be employed in the factories, the caution to be adopted in perilous or hazardous work, and the wages. After saying that public authority has a right to establish a *minimum* below which it should not be legal to descend, he does not ignore the difficulty as regards other States; for, if a similar law was not also adopted by them, the home manufacture might be ruined by foreign competition. This he reckons to be a proof that all civilized peoples ought to concur in establishing rules

which should secure the interests of each country. It is with much satisfaction, therefore, that he notices that the subject has been brought before the Helvetic Parliament by the deputy Decurtins, a learned economist and eloquent orator, who proposed that negotiations should be set on foot with the different European States for establishing an international regulation with respect to these four points—1, The protection of children's labour; 2, The limitation of that of women; 3, The Sunday's rest; 4, The normal length of the day's work. The proposal met with unanimous approval. The idea of such an international accord, although very generally diffused amongst both Catholics and non-Catholics, has, nevertheless, met with opposition on the part of many, as implying a sort of concession to the Socialists. This subject is considered in a subsequent article, which appeared on May 4. Jannet, a French Catholic, in his work, "*Le Socialisme d'Etat*," takes this view, and regards such an international agreement as a chimera and a peril. While much commending Jannet's work, the writer in the *Civiltà* differs from him on this point. Jannet is of opinion that the difference of circumstances in nations forms an insuperable obstacle to such an agreement. The writer, on the other hand, thinks that these regulations depend very little on such differences, and affect matters which must be pretty well similar everywhere. The fixed *minimum* of wages may perhaps be the only one offering substantial difficulties. Jannet thinks that the fixing of a *minimum* would at once cause the closing of many industries which contrive to exist although they bring small profit, furnishing employment at a low rate of wages. The other effect, he says, would be the immediate dismissal of all old or half-invalidated workmen. The *Civiltà*, however, holds that such industries as are not sufficiently profitable to pay the *minimum* wages ought, in fact, to be closed; and as for the old and infirm, whose work is not sufficient to earn the *minimum*, they are not half but wholly invalided workmen, who ought to be maintained, not by work, but by beneficent assistance.

20 Aprile, 1889.

A Strange Sect.—The Russian correspondent of the *Civiltà Cattolica* often supplies most interesting information concerning the internal state of that vast Empire. There is now an extraordinary religious agitation in progress, stirring the hearts of millions, all in search of "the truth" of "the True God" and "Life Eternal." These sectaries form groups more or less numerous, each having its leader, proclaiming that mankind is all immersed in sin, that the devil reigns on earth, and evil triumphs. The remedy is retirement from the world into deserts and forests, and, if this be impossible, a voluntary death in order to go and unite themselves to Christ in heaven. One of the most popular of these preachers of

suicide—and there are thousands of them—was the Monk Faloré, who exercised his apostleship on the banks of the Volga. “We cannot live any longer in this world of sin,” he ardently exclaimed; “we must needs seek eternal salvation in death. Let us die, then, for Jesus Christ.” No less than eighty-four of his disciples shut themselves up in a cavern to pray and starve themselves to death, placing a quantity of combustible materials at its mouth as a resource if surprised. They were in terrible earnest, for a woman, who had apparently repented of her resolve, having escaped and given the alarm, sentinels whom these fanatics had posted apprised them of the approach of soldiers, and immediately they screamed out, “Here comes Anti-Christ; let us not fall alive into his hands,” and the pile they had raised was quickly in a blaze. Vain were all efforts to rescue them, for they fell upon each other with hatchets, or cast themselves into the flames, shouting, “Let us die for Christ.” One alone, a peasant named Touthkof, was with difficulty captured, but he subsequently escaped from detention, and preached the doctrine of suicide with such success that he collected some seventy persons all firmly resolved to die; amongst them were entire families, fathers, mothers, and children. This time a cottage was chosen as the scene of the tragedy. At a given signal they began to despatch each other with hatchets. The groans of the dying betrayed them, but when the police arrived there were already thirty-five dead. Another dreadful event of the same kind is recorded, when indescribable sufferings from hunger were endured, two alone being at last unable to support their torments. When the police arrived, only three were found still living. From time to time a report of these things appears in the papers, but how many more ghastly horrors may have taken place unnoticed in the pathless forests of Russia, which, in the northern regions, are said to equal in extent the half of Europe! Not all the sects which swarm in Russia are of so gloomy a character. Some are inoffensive, some ridiculous, but all bear witness to the impotence of the schismatic Russian Church, in whose bosom they are propagated, while they largely testify to the deep religious feelings of the Russian peasantry. If only the teaching of the true Church could reach their ears, what might they not yet become!

Political Science Quarterly, December 1888 and March 1889.

THE December number of this American quarterly contains two articles well worth the attention of English readers. The first, on Socialism in English Politics, gives a vivid picture of the course of social legislation among us from the beginning of the century to the present day. The common notions about the history of our political parties and their relation to the mass of the people are so erroneous, that it is delightful to have them set straight by an im-

partial observer from without. Thus, to look on Pitt as a Tory of the old stamp, the defender of the altar and the throne, the upholder of the rural aristocracy against traders and money-lenders, is an illusion; to look on Cobden as the champion of the masses against the classes—a popular hero—is no less an illusion. Both Pitt and Cobden aimed at the commercial supremacy of England abroad, and at the political supremacy of the moneyed classes at home. Both were believers in that particular species of political economy that advocated *laissez-faire*, and, in fact, *laissez-faire* may be said to have reigned supreme from the end of the last century till the death of Cobden and Lord Palmerston in 1865. There was, indeed, one great exception, one jarring note amid the sweet harmonies of middle-class song of triumph—namely, the factory legislation, which was effected by a combination of trades unionists, philanthropists, and the “country party,” and Tory landlords. And Tories being men, not angels, it gave a zest to their duty of passing these excellent factory laws, that thereby they retaliated on Mr. Bright and his companions for the abolition of the Corn Laws. Still, in the main, the *laissez-faire* doctrines and the monetary classes triumphed, having, be it well remembered, a middle-class electorate to support them; and the really popular movement—namely, that of the Chartists—was completely beaten. But after being buried for twenty years, the spirit of the Chartists rose from its tomb, and, as the electorate became more and more popular, social legislation came more and more to the front. First, the trade unions were recognized by the law and respected by public opinion, while the Factory Acts were extended and improved. But there was no stopping here in the process of tying down the demi-god—or blatant beast—known as competition. For it soon appeared that trade unions, after reaching the height of their glory about the year 1874, could only effect a limited amount of good. Co-operation, as far as it claimed to solve the social question, turned out to be quackery. Socialism, pronounced impossible in England, grew up like a mushroom in rapidity. Party government forced each side to bid for votes by social legislation. And the result is that this American writer tells us plainly and complacently about England what Lord Wemyss has already told us with tears and groans, that “in no country probably is progress being made more rapidly and more certainly in the Socialist direction.”

But a word of warning: this brilliant State Socialist writer falls, just like the Individualist, Lord Wemyss, into one error, but an error fundamental and irremediable. He thinks all departure from *laissez-faire* a progress towards State-Socialism, depriving us hopelessly of any criterion of what is the right function of the State and the right limits of social legislation. Take no food, sir, I might reply, for each mouthful is progress towards over-eating.

The second article, on some difficulties of public business management, requires no word of warning, being a clear and impartial examination of Government agency, most unwelcome to State-Socialists, but true all the same. Even those two model and exceptional insti-

tutions, the English telegraph service and the Prussian State railways, are less efficient than the American telegraphs and the English railways worked by private companies. Everything points to the conclusion that the future is not with the State, or with individual agency, but with private corporations.

The number for March has also several excellent articles. M. Gauvain gives a capital analysis of the situation in France; Professor Gustav Cohn describes the experiences of Swiss democracy with the questions that touch us all nearly—namely, income and property taxes; and a warm welcome is given to Professor Bryce's new book on the American Commonwealth.

C. S. DEVAS.

Notices of Books.

William George Ward and the Oxford Movement. By WILFRID WARD.
London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

THE younger generation of Catholic readers have probably little idea that the famous "Dr. Ward," known to them for his strenuous assertion of the authority of doctrinal decrees and defence of the freedom of human will, played a conspicuous and influential part in what is known as the Tractarian movement. To these, Mr. Wilfrid Ward's volume will be a pleasant source of interesting information; to those whose memories go farther back, its pages will evoke a keener interest. Dr. Ward has been named as having been, with Cardinal Newman, a leader of that movement. His biographer notes, in a very interesting passage of his Preface, that the Oxford party really consisted of two schools, springing from different starting-points, and having by no means identical views; although "the representative members of each eventually found the outcome of their principles in the Church of Rome." He refers, that is, to the older Tractarians, who, with Newman, Pusey, and Keble as leaders, aimed at the "restoration of the Catholic elements in Anglicanism as they had existed in the seventeenth century"; and to the later party which, from 1839 to 1845, largely guided the fortunes of the movement. Their views, much influenced by Froude's "Remains," were mainly concerned with Authority and Sanctity from a Catholic standpoint. They were little attracted by the thought of Anglican tradition that had been so much to Cardinal Newman: they were, Mr. Ward tells us, moved mainly by ethical and philosophical feelings, whereas "the motive power of the older school had been primarily historical." The Cardinal has given a full account

of the early Tractarians in his "Apologia"; Mr. Ward aims at giving a more detailed description of the younger school in this account of his father's career up to his reception into the Catholic Church. And he has produced a volume which, whilst valuable under this historical aspect, will also be found by the more general reader eminently interesting. The delineation of Dr. Ward's personal character explains his influence with his party. His friends were numerous and of widely different, even opposite, opinions and tastes. Witness the list of those whose varying, but always affectionate, reminiscences of Dr. Ward have largely helped his son in composing the present volume:—The Deans of St. Paul's, of Durham, of Norwich, Professor Jowett, Lord Selborne, Lord Blackford, Father Whitty, the Bishop of London, &c. &c. These reminiscences of Mr. Ward's school and Oxford days could not but be amusing. They gradually place him before us, a strange combination of talents and social qualities: full of irresistible fun and keenly alive to the pleasure of social intercourse, yet a frequent sufferer from physical pain, and consequent attacks of melancholy; an enthusiastic lover of music, a good singer, and fond of the theatre in his earlier days, and at the same time averse to history, contemptuous of poetry; an inveterate mathematician, with a passion for metaphysics, and a wonderful power, even as a boy, of standing mentally aside from the crowd and pursuing to the end his abstract and subtle speculations; and, finally, what perhaps makes one most love him, possessed always with deep religious earnestness and with a vivid appreciation of the spiritual as of the highest interests of life.

How subtle at tierce and quart of mind with mind!
How loyal in the following of thy Lord!

sings the Laureate of him in the verses prefixed to this volume.

William George Ward was born in London in 1812. His school-days were, on the whole, he often said, the least happy period of his life. He had little aptitude for games and his companions little care for his speculations. In subjects he had talent or taste for he was a hard and successful student; for other things he showed his distaste very emphatically. A good Latin scholar, he refused to take seriously the Latin verses enforced at Winchester. The required number of lines he was of course compelled to write; but he purposely made them ludicrously prosaic. He treated English poetry similarly. Mr. Ward gives some amusing specimens of both; as this, from a description of some barbarous nation:

These people have but very little wood;
They therefore can't build ships. They wish they could:

and others too long for quotation. At the same time he could write on such a theme as "Simplicity essential to true greatness," with wonderful power of analysis. He went to Oxford in 1830, and the chapters which treat of his student life there are full of incident and anecdote. He was one of the best speakers at the "Union" debates. A "select preacher" once acknowledged to him that he

had given five pounds for the sermon which Ward had that morning heard (and which he considered one of the worst he had ever heard), and added, "Don't you think that enough?" "I don't know," Ward answered, "I wouldn't have preached it for fifty." Music and pantomimic skits were his recreation.

On one of these occasions the performance was more vigorous than usual, and Ward was for the moment impersonating Cupid. Mr. Chapman, one of the tutors, was unable to continue his reading in the room below, and sent his scout to ascertain the cause of the disturbance. The scout came back with the assurance: "It's honly Mr. Ward, sir; 'E's a hacting of a cherubym."

After he became a Newmanite he gave up the theatre for years, and, by Dr. Pusey's advice, in Lent he went without any music whatsoever.

One Lent, when three weeks had passed in this way, he met Coffin in the High Street and said, "I have such an awful fit of depression that I feel as if I should go out of my mind; don't you think that a little music for once may be allowed?" After some discussion it was agreed that a little strictly sacred music might pass. Beginning with Cherubini's "O Salutaris," they gradually passed to "Possenti Numi," in the "Flauto Magico." But this opened a book containing songs somewhat lighter, and the duet between Papageno and Papagena followed. The music waxed faster and livelier till it culminated in "Largo al factotum," the lightest and raciest of buffo songs, in the middle of which one of the company suddenly recollected that the room in Christ Church in which he was singing was separated only by a thin wall from Dr. Pusey's own rooms.

This must suffice as a specimen of the stories by which the narrative is enlivened. At the comparatively late date at which Mr. Ward's volume reaches us we have not space to enter into the theological and historical aspects of his subject, and must do so at another time. Meanwhile, every one who can, ought to read this entertaining and edifying biography. It goes only as far as Dr. Ward's reception into the Church in September 1845, but a further volume is in contemplation, we are glad to gather from the Preface, where Mr. Ward mentions that a collection of his father's letters, which Cardinal Newman has placed at his disposal, will be very valuable when he comes to deal with his father's Catholic life. Dr. Ward's marriage, just previous to his conversion, had been a subject of wonder to many admirers of his party's ideal of clerical celibacy, and to numbers of unfriendly outsiders; the intelligence of his coming reception into the Church in London had reached Oxford: and University opinion found its way to his lodgings in London in every variety of form.

The new converts [Dr. Ward and his wife] had gone to the church early [the Jesuit chapel in Bolton Street], had made their general confession to Father Brownbill and received communion, and on their return found the breakfast-table literally covered with squibs and more serious expressions of disapproval from Fellows and undergraduates. Among others was a parody of a well-known poem commencing thus:—

"O Wardie, I believed thee true,
And I was blessed in so believing;
But now I own I never knew
A youth so base, or so deceiving."

Mr. Ward enjoyed the pasquinades thoroughly, and the more serious remonstrances did not trouble him. The gain of peace and rest, and of much more which a Catholic only can understand, placed him beyond the reach of any feelings of regret from personal misunderstandings.

The volume leaves Dr. Ward entering on his professorial duties at St. Edmund's College, and that period of quiet domestic life and hard work in the studies he loved, which he afterwards spoke of as "seven years far happier than any which I ever before spent . . . bearing a part, however indirect, in one of the very noblest works which can possibly occupy the intellect or engage the affections—the training of ecclesiastical students for the fulfilment of their high vocation."

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1. *What are the Catholic Claims?* By the Rev. AUSTIN RICHARDSON. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. LUKE RIVINGTON. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.
 2. *Dependence; or, the Insecurity of the Anglican Position.* By the Rev. LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

FATHER RICHARDSON'S volume is intended as a Catholic's answer to Mr. Gore's book "The Roman Catholic Claims," about which we have incidentally spoken when treating of Mr. Rivington's first Catholic book "Authority." In nine chapters Father Richardson follows step by step Mr. Gore's confident but often very reckless assertions, and disposes of them with remarkable gentleness of temper, and with a trained theologian's appeal to Catholic Theology that will give to his work, even after interest in the controversy has passed, a permanent value as a Catholic handbook on the subjects treated. The *via media*; the unity of the Church; the authority of the Church; Catholic view and use of the Bible; the promise of Christ to St. Peter; the growth of the Papacy; the nature of schism; Anglican Ordinations; and Anglican Orthodoxy—the temperate but well-founded and argumentative statements of a mature theologian on these points, which are the headings to the author's nine chapters, form the substance of this excellent work, which deserves much more attention than we can give it until another quarter, when we hope to treat it in connection with Mr. Rivington's last work, which has reached us as we are preparing for press. That Mr. Rivington's happy conversion has caused considerable consternation in the Anglican camp is both unintentionally testified by such ebullitions of temper as Mr. Gore's, and pertinently confirmed by the numerous recep-

tions of Anglican clergymen into the fold of St. Peter since. Nothing like facts. And that our Cardinal Archbishop should the other day, as all the Protestant newspapers made known, have had the happiness of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation on one morning to five ex-Anglican clergymen just received into the Church, is a stronger witness to the validity of Mr. Rivington's line of thought and action than Mr. Gore's bitter special pleading can prevail against. For the present we must be content to name Mr. Rivington's "Dependence," the title of which will sufficiently suggest his line of thought. Enough here to add that he takes the line of history; and shows (1) from the Council of Jerusalem, (2) from that of Chalcedon, and then from the nature of the changes against (3) Liberius, (4) Honorius, and (5) Alexander VI., and again from the ecclesiastical action of (6) Henry VIII., and (7) Elizabeth, and lastly, from the character of (8) Dr. Pusey's teaching, and of the questions implicated in the (9) Lincoln prosecution, the true state of the issue between the Roman Catholic claim and the Anglican High Church pretension.

Old English Catholic Missions. By JOHN ORLEBAR PAYNE, M.A.
London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

WE have here another volume of those interesting records of our forefathers, which Mr. Payne has taken upon himself to edit and illustrate. This time it is the Mission Registers sent up to the Record Office about 1840 which he has got hold of. Many of our readers may not be aware that as the result of a Royal Commission appointed in 1836, an effort was made to induce the Catholic Bishops (amongst others) to deliver up to the Government their registers of births, deaths, and marriages. The Bishops refused to do anything of the kind. Yet Mr. Payne finds that some seventy-eight old Catholic mission registers were forwarded by the clergy to the authorities at Somerset House. As these registers are chiefly from Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, it is possible that Bishop Briggs may have differed in opinion from his episcopal brethren. But it is also probable that many of the clergy, in sending up the books, were under the impression that they were merely wanted for copying, and would be returned. This was far from being the intention of the Government. After an interesting Preface, in which he reprints from the report of a Commission in 1857 a long letter from Cardinal Wiseman, clearly explaining why the authorities of the Church objected to parting with their registers, Mr. Payne goes through them one by one, and picks out whatever he finds that seems worth publishing as an illustration of Catholic life, of ecclesiastical biography, or of family history. Many of the missions are barely mentioned, their registers not offering any feature of interest. But some are dealt with at much greater length. Danby and Holme-on-Spalding Moor, among old Catholic family seats, are re-

presented by several pages of extracts, showing the names of priests, lists of conversions, and notices of births, deaths or marriages of well-known Catholic names. Among old missions, Knaresborough and Richmond (Yorks) are found to have preserved much worth quoting whilst the registers of the City of York and of Leeds present large materials for the Catholic history of the eighteenth century. The register of Western Underwood (Bucks) is of such exceptional interest, that the Editor dedicates eight or ten pages of an Appendix to it; he treats in the same way the register of Cheam (Surrey), a mission long since given up, and of Worcester, these three last-named registers not being among those sent up to London. The introductory Preface is an admirable and most interesting historical and literary commentary on the body of the work, and a minute Index enables the reader and the inquirer to use the contents to the best advantage.

Cultus SS. Cordis Jesu. Cum additamento de Cultu Purissimi Cordis B.V. Mariæ. Scripsit HERMANNUS J. NIX, S.J. Friburgi Brisgovie: Herder. 1889.

THIS is a useful brochure of 167 pages, written in Latin, by a German Jesuit, on the devotion of the Sacred Heart. It professes to be chiefly intended for priests and students of divinity, and has the approbation of the Archbishop of Friburg, and of the Jesuit authorities. The writer does not present anything that is particularly new, and perhaps there may be some difficulty in discovering the *raison d'être* of a treatise of this kind which differs so little from Nilles. It will be found, however, that for the purpose of preaching and instructing, there is either more in these pages or the matter is better dealt with. The author begins with historical notes. He then enters on theology, treating of the *cultus* of the Incarnate Word in general, and of that of the Sacred Heart in particular—of that “love,” which is the object of our devotion, and of that material heart which is at once its symbol, and (in popular phrase and idea) its principal organ. Passing on to the ascetical aspects of the subject, he treats of the objects or aims of the devotion—that is to say, chiefly, love and reparation. The concluding section of this third chapter is an eloquent and touching exposition of God’s solicitude that men should love Jesus Christ. A fourth chapter describes the various ways of honouring the Sacred Heart, and a fifth puts before the devout reader the fruit which may be expected from these holy exercises—increased knowledge of God, greater nearness to Christ, horror of sin, apostolic zeal, peace and unity in families, and that enlightened estimation of Christ’s obedience and poverty, which alone can heal the rationalistic and communistic tendencies of the present day. In the course of his pages Father Nix solves many difficulties, and explains much that may be obscure. He touches, as was to be expected, on the vision of Blessed Margaret Mary, and one of the most interesting of his historical

pages is that in which he draws out, from Père Daniel's life of that holy religious, a chronology of the various revelations vouchsafed to her (p. 10). It would have been useful, and, as far as we know, novel, had Father Nix indicated what is the most approved way of depicting our Lord's Sacred Heart in Christian art, not only in order to gain the promises made to Blessed Margaret Mary, and the indulgences of the Sovereign Pontiffs, but to prevent puerile superstitions or scandalous representations. The decree of the Congregation of Rites of December 14, 1877, simply says, that the "image of the Sacred Heart must appear externally." But in the visions of Blessed Margaret Mary, there are, as all our readers know, not only many details, but the details are somewhat obscure, and even seem, in some instances, to be more or less at variance with one another. It is observable that Father Nix, in speaking of the "promises," gives, without any comment, that which is commonly called the "twelfth," in regard to which there is some controversy at the present moment. In this, our Divine Lord is said to promise to all who communicate on nine consecutive first Fridays of the month the grace of final perseverance. The authority given is a letter of the Saint, printed in Père Daniel's life.

Sweet Thoughts of Jesus and Mary. Meditations for the Feasts of our Saviour and of His Blessed Mother. By THOMAS CARRE, Priest of the English College at Doway. Printed at Paris A.D. MDCLVIII. and MDCLXV. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

IN a very interesting Preface, the editor of this fine old Catholic devotional book (who signs the well-known initials "O. S.") tells us that "Miles Carre" was really Miles Pinkney, a member of an ancient family seated at Broom Hall, near Durham, now the property of Ushaw College. Having acted as Procurator at Doway for eight or nine years, he spent the rest of his life as chaplain to the English Augustinian nuns in the Rue Fossés St. Victor, at Paris, where he died in 1674, at the age of seventy-five. He was a holy, learned, and energetic man, equally skilled in business and in the direction of souls, and possessing that gift of fine and nervous literary expression which distinguished the era of Shakespeare, of Ben Jonson, and of Jeremy Taylor. His best known work is his translation of the "Love of God" of St. Francis de Sales, which Canon Mackey has adopted as the basis of his recent version. Of the two editions of "Sweet Thoughts" issued in the writer's lifetime, the second, bearing the date of 1665, is the larger and more important. It contains meditations for the whole year, additional meditations on the Gospels of every Sunday, and on the Passion. The subject is always our Lord's life, or that of our Blessed Lady. The present edition does not pretend to reproduce this work in its entirety. It is, as the editor admits, a "mere fragment" of the edition of 1665. Neither

is it anything more than a devotional reprint, without literary claims. This protest, however, is rather too modest. The volume is of about 140 pages, well printed, and arranged for the principal festivals of Jesus and of Mary. The meditations are, as a rule, divided into two considerations, with a heading, each consideration being followed by a paragraph of "affections," and sometimes also by brief "resolutions." The following extract will give some idea of the work, which many will find most useful as a devotional manual of short and simple meditations:—

Be thou ever blessed and magnified, O my low and mighty, my abject and my all-powerful Lord. Thou art low, to come down to my poverty; thou art high to raise my thoughts and hopes to thy riches. Low, for my instruction and humiliation; high, for my protection and defence. Low, to teach my proud heart that all greatness ought to subject itself to this admirable humility of thine; high, to be our true refuge in all our weaknesses and dejections. Lowly, to convince us that true loftiness is to be humble with Christ and for Christ, but also mighty, "for, when I am infirm, then I am powerful," saith St. Paul (p. 65).

Thoughts on Apostolic Succession. To help Catholics in discussion with their Anglican friends. By FATHER GALWEY, S.J.
London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

FATHER GALWEY'S pamphlet is excellent both in matter and manner. In it he offers some thoughts for the serious consideration of those Anglicans who either hope for reunion with the one Catholic Church, but think it a duty to remain where they are, helping on towards that reunion, or who deride the suggested necessity of reunion on the plea: We have Apostolic succession where we are; what should we find in Rome which we have not in that English Church where Providence has placed us? He dwells at some length on the kind of succession which alone can meet the requirements of "Apostolic succession," illustrating his thesis with various pertinent examples:—*Same* resemblance, if it but breaks down in one vital feature, is not enough, and still less does mere occupancy of the same place constitute "succession." He shows from that organization of the Early Church which Anglicans accept as history with ourselves, that the Apostles were distinct in many important points from the Bishops, and he lays down three great differences (p. 37). 1. The bishop was appointed by the Apostle, taught by the Apostle, guided and overruled by him. The Apostle had his office directly from our Lord. The bishop was his subordinate. 2. The bishop's authority was local, within boundaries fixed by the Apostle, which limited his jurisdiction; the Apostle's authority and jurisdiction was world-wide; and 3. The bishop, though assisted in due measure by the Holy Spirit, remained a fallible teacher; the Apostle was infallible. Then, having shown that living bishops are a necessity in order that a Church may be Episcopalian, as a living king that a nation may be a monarchy (not enough that there once lived

bishops or a king), so : "Can a Church be Apostolic if there is no living Apostle in it?" This question gives the gist of Father Gallwey's contention. What the Apostles were intended to be by Christ he states, and also what they were by their own showing; and it is easy then to show that the Roman Church has still the living Apostle, and that Anglicans dare not even claim such a living force amongst them. He shows that the Church did not cease to be Apostolic when the Apostles died, and that Anglicans ought to mean this when they recite the Nicene formula: "I believe in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church." Granting to an Anglican, for argument's sake, that Broad Church and Low Church, and the Anglicans *par excellence*, are all equally that wonderful Church of England which they sentimentalize so much about; granting further that Anglican bishops represent this Church of England, and even that Anglican Orders are valid—the only result of accepting all these improbable assumptions would be "that the Anglican Church is a *National Episcopal Church*, subject to the State, but not in any true sense an *Apostolic Church*" (p. 58). We would call the attention of those who come into contact with "High" Anglicans to Father Gallwey's useful "Thoughts," which are well worked out, presented in concise and clear language, and emphasized by the zealous earnestness of the writer.

Beati Edmundi Campiani, S.J., Martyris in Anglia, Opuscula. Barcinone : F. Rosalius. 1889.

WE are glad to welcome this little volume of Blessed Edmund Campian's works. Many, if not most, of the letters and documents contained in its pages have appeared previously somewhere or other; but there are several which are here printed for the first time; and even if there were nothing new, it would still be a great matter that we have now a complete collection of the writings of so heroic a martyr. The contents comprise letters, sermons, and orations, a treatise "*De imitatione Rhetorica*," and some few pages of Latin verse. Of editorial work there is practically nothing which we cannot but regret. Three or four pages are devoted to the bare outlines of Blessed Edmund Campian's life, from which we learn that Father Morris, S.J., furnished the only new matter that appears, and which he collected out of the archives of the diocese of Westminster and of Stonyhurst. An intelligent editor might have done much to make the writings of the martyr interesting and instructive; but, unfortunately, no such assistance is afforded, and while expressing our gratitude for this volume of collected writings, we cannot but regret that it was not considered worth while to give it to the public in a manner more worthy of so illustrious a member of the great Society of Jesus.

The Wandering Knight, His Adventurous Journey; or, a Mediæval Pilgrim's Progress. By JEAN DE CARTHENY, Brother in the Religious Order of Mount Carmel, and Canon Theologian of the Diocese of Cambrai. Newly translated into English under ecclesiastical supervision, from the edition of 1572. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

WE can have no words but of welcome and approval of this very charming book. First published in 1557, it may well be the fact, as has been surmised, that John Bunyan was indebted to it for the substance of his "Pilgrim's Progress." However that may be, the work was well worth retranslation for its own intrinsic merit—no English translation having appeared since 1580, though more recently it has been done into Flemish and German, and even Welsh. The book is divided into three parts—first, "The Broad Way," wherein the knight, making Folly his confidant, sets out upon his voyage of discovery. That he should ultimately find himself "*set fast in the midst of a miry slough*," goes without saying. In "The Narrow Way," part ii., "Divine Grace comes to help the knight out of his trouble," and he is "triumphantly translated unto the mansion of Virtue." In "The Way of Peace," part iii., the knight is instructed by the "old hermit," in the virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, as well as in the Cardinal Virtues, and how to obtain the gift of Perseverance. This delightful allegory, whose general scope we can merely indicate, has all the solidity and more than the quaintness which makes Rodriguez such excellent spiritual reading. A special feature is the enrichment of the book by a series of most instructive notes—very valuable to those who have no reference library at hand; and in regard of which the translator expresses grateful obligation to the Fathers of the Institute of Charity, Signini, Richmond, Jarvis, and Richardson, to the latter of whom the publication of this translation is mainly due. The book has been beautifully printed at the Catholic Reformatory School, Market Weighton.

Prælectiones Logicæ et Ontologiæ, quas in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi S.J., habebat GUSTAVUS LAHOUSSE, E. S. Tom. IV. Lovanii: Car. Peeters. 1889.

NOW that the last volume of these lectures has been published, there need no longer be any complaint of want of a good text-book in Scholastic Philosophy. Father Lahousse has contrived to meet the respective needs of both professors and students. The former will find that, while nothing essential has been omitted, there is plenty of scope for development. On the other hand, students will be glad to know that this course can claim some great advantages over others of its class. First of all, Father Lahousse is more diffuse than our modern writers on metaphysical subjects, and consequently gives more detailed information on many points. His four

volumes contain over two thousand pages, or double the number contained in our common text-books. He evidently writes for those who may fortunately devote their three years to philosophy, but he will be of great assistance to those who follow a two years' course. The student will find that opinions and theories are explained and criticized to his satisfaction; and that references to original sources are given when it is practicable. Secondly, the arrangement of subjects and the manner of treatment entitle these lectures to respect. Each volume is divided into chapters, these into articles, which are in turn subdivided into sections and paragraphs. The use of large figures to indicate a new paragraph is a great help to the attention. The thesis is always proved by the neatest and shortest of syllogisms, and the numerous difficulties are so arranged that there would be little trouble in linking them together for a public disputation. Again, each volume contains a list of theses, and two indexes, one arranged alphabetically, the other intended to serve as a guide to the contents. Thus no time is lost in hunting out any particular point. Lastly, there is everywhere noticeable a spirit of tolerance in regard to disputed points; a more generous treatment of opponents than is usually found in books of this description. A devoted and ardent admirer of St. Thomas, the author is, nevertheless, not afraid to depart from his teaching, or perhaps what is called his teaching, whenever the balance of proof is on the other side. Two points in this last volume will serve to illustrate this. First, on the great question which has disturbed scholastics from time immemorial—namely, whether the essence of a thing be really distinct or not from its existence, Father Lahousse sides with Suarez against the Thomists. Again, on another disputed point, we find him in accord with the Doctor Eximius and opposed to the Thomistic school, maintaining that a thing is individuated by its own reality, and not by anything superadded. The way in which these two difficult questions, and the still more difficult one of substance and hypostasis are treated, merits high praise. In conclusion, we can only express the hope that, as the study of scholastic philosophy is extended, this admirable text-book may meet with the success it well deserves.

J. R.

The Registers of Walter Brouncombe (A.D. 1257–1280) and Peter Quivil (A.D. 1280–1291), Bishops of Exeter, with some Records of the Episcopate of Bishop Thomas de Bytton (A.D. 1292–1307); also the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., A.D. 1291 (Diocese of Exeter). By the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH, M.A., Rector of Ringmore, Prebendary of Exeter, and Dean Rural. London: George Bell & Sons. 1889.

THIS volume, a splendid monument of research and labour in the ecclesiastical history of mediæval England, is the first in chronological order of the Exeter Diocesan Registers, now being published by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph. We say, in chrono-

logical order, since what is to be in reality Vol. V. of the series—namely, Bishop Stafford's Register—had previously appeared, and is, we believe, already out of print. Mr. Randolph's work gives us a clear, accurate, alphabetically-arranged index, and, in many cases, an abstract of all the documents contained in the episcopal register; the amount of detailed information, historical, topographical, ecclesiastical, &c., contained in them being almost incredible. Churches, chapelries, names and records of families, installations of abbots and abbesses, wills, &c. &c., give us a wonderful accession to our knowledge of Catholic England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

So much being said to give an idea of the general character of the work, we shall allow Mr. Randolph to say a word for himself. The tracing of Bishop Bronescombe's Itinerary has been one of the thousand items in his labour of love. Nothing can be more just or instructive than the commentary made on it by the learned prebendary in his charming Preface.

After Christmas (1258) he returned to his diocese, and remained there till the end of April, when we find him again in London, where he remained till the middle of August, when he went westward, and commenced his first visitation at Honiton on the 23rd. After resting, for a few days, in his palace, he plunged vigorously into his work, moving from place to place, day after day, with scarcely an interval, till the close of the year. Those only who are acquainted with the character of the country which he had to traverse will be able to appreciate fully the toil and travail of his way. Let us follow him for a few days in September and October.

Leaving Lawhitton, by Tamar side, on the 18th or 19th of the former month, he reached Bodmin on the 20th, and on the same day journeyed to Poltone, where he remained till the 26th, when we find him at St. Newlyn, some miles to the south-west, and the following day at Kenwyn. The 28th and 29th were spent in Truro, and from thence he made his way to Tregony, which he reached on the 30th. There he abode two days, setting out on the third of October for the South Coast, and visiting, in rapid succession, a large number of places, some of which are not altogether easy of access even now, and must have been much less so over such roads as the good Bishop and his retinue had to encounter more than six hundred years ago. He visited St. Anthony-in-Roseland on the 3rd, St. Michael Carhayes and Tregeare (his manor in St. Gerrans) on the 5th, Mevagissey and Bodrigan (in St. Goran) on the 8th, St. Austell on the 9th, and Looe, many miles over the hills eastward, on the 11th. That night he reached St. German's Priory, and spent the next day there, proceeding to Shevioke on the 13th, Anthony on the 14th, the remote parish of Rame on the 15th, Pillaton (miles away to the north, and by a very circuitous route) on the 16th, St. Mellion on the 17th, Botusfleming on the 18th, St. Dominick on the 20th, North Petherwin (far away in North Cornwall, beyond Launceston) on the 22nd, St. Clether on the 23rd, Kelly, across the Tamar, on the 24th, and St. Stephen's-by-Launceston on the 25th. It will be well worth any one's while to follow the indefatigable Bishop's route on the map. Its recital might well be regarded as almost incredible, but for the fact that his register records the work done at every place, and thereby increases our wonder. For in the course of some thirty days he dedicated no fewer than twenty-one churches, in addition to attending to much diocesan work of other kinds.

After a week's rest at Chudleigh, we find him again on his travels,

consecrating thirteen more churches in a month. And what marvellous churches they were in artistic beauty we can figure to ourselves from what of them has remained to us unchanged. In 1272 we find Bishop Bronescombe in France, attending the Council of Lyons, or journeying from Paris to Bordeaux and Bayonne. We doubt if even in our nineteenth century there are many bishops who would surpass this thirteenth-century prelate in pastoral activity. How much do these unearthed records help us to correct our ideas on the ecclesiastical life of the middle ages? No dioceses could now-a-days show eighty-eight dedications of churches by a single bishop in nine years.

Another feature that strikes us in these Registers is the vast number of churches, chapels, and religious houses existing in Devon and Cornwall in that century. Many of them lie in ruins, perhaps awaiting the day when, like Our Lady's Abbey at Buckfast, they are to rise from their desolation. More remarkable still is the long list of saints' names, now forgotten, but for long ages the object of Catholic devotion, as having doubtless been in many instances among the earliest apostles and teachers of the faith to Britain. Such names meet us at every page; each village had its holy patron, such as St. Mawgan, St. Constantine, St. Allan, St. Clether, St. Colan, St. Elvan, St. Erth, St. Gennys, St. Goran, St. Gwennap, St. Issey, St. Kea, St. Keverne, St. Kew, St. Madron, St. Minver, St. Newlyn, St. Sithney, St. Teath, St. Minnefrid, &c. &c. It would be a glorious feature in England's return to the unity of Christendom were our ancient saints to receive from the restored homage of the faithful an increase of their accidental glory. As in the case of the *cultus* of St. Mildred, restored by Pope Leo XIII. for the Benedictine houses in the Isle of Thanet, the fact of churches dedicated in their honour would be enough for the Holy See to grant a new leave to celebrate their festivals, *titulo cultus ab immemorabili*. That Prebendary Randolph's noble work, rightly pronounced the greatest contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the West of England since the days of Dr. Oliver, may conduce to this happiest end, is one of the greatest blessings we can invoke on his labours. Our limits prevent us from saying more. The work is adorned by two exquisite facsimiles—one from Bishop Bronescombe's, the other from Bishop Quivil's Register.

Le Socialisme d'Etat et la Réforme sociale. Par CLAUDIO JANNET.
Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1889.

IN this volume the Professor of Political Economy at the Catholic University of Paris gives us a series of essays on some of the most urgent social questions of the present time, such as State Socialism, compulsory national insurance, associations of workmen, mixed associations of masters and workmen, the combinations of

producers known among ourselves as syndicates or trusts, the condition of agriculture, and of the rural population of Western Europe. These questions are indeed brought daily to our notice in the newspapers; but it is a refreshing contrast to turn from the effusions of incompetence to a writer like M. Jannet, who treats all social matters by the light of sound principles, sober facts, and authentic history. And his book is opportune: for this very year a great Act of State Socialism has been passed in Germany, making all invalids and old people the pensioners of the State, and passed by the help of a small body of Catholics, who did not follow the rest of their colleagues in opposing it. I do not think there are many State Socialists among English Catholics—our failings are rather in the opposite direction—but as many as there are, they will be much the better for the excellent cold-water cure which M. Jannet administers, for romances about a golden past and utopias about a golden future.

But in the hard fight with a dangerous intellectual error, it is most difficult not to lean a little to the other extreme; and I think M. Jannet hardly does justice to the arguments of those Catholics, both French and German, who aim at reorganizing society in trade corporations. There is, in fact, a difference of opinion between two such high authorities among French Catholics as M. Jannet, the first of their economists, and the Count de Mun, their political leader. It may be useful to explain the difference, lest the unwise among us take up stones to throw at the Professor as a liberal, or at the Count as a socialist. In reality, both the disputants are agreed on almost all points of importance in social science; agreed on the absolute necessity of religion as the base of all social welfare; agreed on the efficacy of Catholic teaching for the solution of social and political problems; agreed that the modern *question sociale*—that is, the habitual and chronic, as distinct from occasional, antagonism of masters and workmen—is due to the loss of the religious sentiment on both sides; agreed on the evils of urban agglomeration and rural depopulation and the need of protecting the peasantry by homestead laws; agreed on the evils of the drink traffic, on the follies of educating multitudes in learning which disables them from getting a living; agreed that the vast armies and debts of the Continent are a vast calamity; agreed on the venom of Freemasonry and all secret societies; agreed on the duty of the State to protect all its members from oppression and violations of the moral law, in particular to protect women and children in workshops and factories; agreed on the duty of all employers to act in a spirit of fatherly care and kindness towards their workmen; agreed, finally, on the immense benefit that can come from Christian associations, in particular from those known as *syndicats mixtes*, or *corporations chrétiennes*—namely, trade associations of masters and men bound up together with a common fund and acting as a trades' union, a masters' union, a benefit society, a savings' bank, and much more besides. In what then do they differ? They differ in this, that Professor Jannet praises what he calls *liberté du travail*, claiming for every one

the right to choose what business he pleases, establish it where he pleases, and use what means of production he pleases; whereas the Count de Mun considers all industrial labour to be a *fonction sociale*, requiring, like that of a doctor or lawyer, a certificate of capacity; and he urges the need of industries being grouped into compulsory corporations or guilds, which should be self-governing and have the right to fix hours of labour, rates of wages, and methods and amounts of production, and thus put an end to reckless competition and the present economical anarchy. To this scheme M. Jannet objects, with great force, the almost moral certainty that such corporations would become mere creatures of the State, part of the bureaucratic machinery of governments—perhaps Jew, heretic, or infidel governments—mere departments, as we should say in England, of the Local Government Board. For disputes between masters and men in such *compulsory* corporations must in all fairness admit of an appeal to the State, and the State must settle disputes between different corporations and, in particular, the great difficulty of what are the boundaries of each trade and corporation. I confess I do not see how the advocates of compulsory corporations can answer M. Jannet satisfactorily. But then we seem caught in a trap; for they can bring an effective *tu quoque* argument in the shape of three objections to the system of industrial liberty, objections which M. Jannet in his turn does not, to my mind, answer satisfactorily. First, in the great majority of retail purchases, especially those made by the poor, the buyer is no technical expert, and cannot judge of the quality of the goods; and just as, by a well-known law, bad money drives out good money, so bad articles, cheap and nasty, drive out good articles, and unscrupulous adulterators and unsanitary speculative builders eliminate honest tradesmen and conscientious workmen, causing an incalculable material loss and a still greater moral loss to the community. Secondly, in this system of industrial liberty, immense numbers of the poorer class suffer from perpetual uncertainty of employment, having no security, however well they work and act, against being dismissed at any moment, and with the prospect of likely dismissal as they grow old. The moral evil from this uncertainty is also incalculable. Thirdly, the great argument for industrial liberty—namely, the benefit of competition among producers and traders—is every day becoming less applicable. The technical revolution in the means of production and transport, the use of machinery, steam, and electricity, first, indeed, acted as a dissolvent of old bonds of union, whether good or bad; but now acts in just the opposite way as a means of crystallisation. In one place and industry after another competition is yielding to combination, a process excellently explained in the April number of this Review. Unions, companies, pools, trusts, syndicates, corporations are various names for these new monopolies; and Count de Mun might fairly say that the choice is no longer between industrial liberty and compulsory combination, but between one kind of combination and another.

How, then, are we to escape from our difficulty? Is there no

middle course, that would give the advantages that Count de Mun so justly desires and avoid the evils that M. Jannet so justly fears? I think there is, and I would suggest some course like the following. Instead of a direct compulsion on all concerned to join a corporation, let the law put such obligations on all employers that the great majority, in order to fulfil them, will be practically obliged to form themselves into corporations. For example, let them be responsible for the decent housing of their workpeople, and compelled to support them for at least a year after dismissing them; liable also for injuries to their workmen, and bound to place a deposit in the hands of the local authorities unless they can show the existence of a fund sufficient to meet these liabilities; and if their business affect the health of the people, they must have from some recognized source, or else from a Government examination, a certificate of capacity; and a similar certificate if they are to employ any apprentices. Employers would quickly coalesce into groups for mutual insurance and technical education; but there would still be opportunity for men of exceptional power and talent to be independent of corporations, for their own great resources would enable them to fulfil the requirements of the law. And the tremendous difficulty of the "delimitation" of different industries, inevitable where Government forms the corporations, would disappear entirely: the corporations would grow up naturally as was most convenient; one might include a dozen trades; one trade might be divided into a dozen corporations. Some might be local, some embracing the whole country. It would be all the same to the Government, whose part would simply be this:—To give great powers to all *registered* corporations, powers of civil personality and of holding property, disciplinary powers over their members, powers of granting certificates of capacity; but also to prevent abuses by compelling all corporations to be registered, and requiring, as the condition of registration, publicity of accounts, sound calculations on insurance, and a *bond fide* government by the majority of the members. In some such way as this the great movement towards combination would be put into a safe channel, and the functions of government, which would be almost mechanical, would be as far as possible removed from the arbitrary and habitual interference of State Socialism. At the same time, the uncertainty of employment and the deterioration of goods and of morals by dishonest or desperate competition would be reduced to a minimum; a blow would be struck at the root of overwork, which would become a bad speculation, and each corporation would act as a rational tribunal for settling disputes or wages. Let me, in conclusion, ask those Catholics who are attracted by the cry for the State to fix for the whole country a minimum rate of wages and a maximum time of work (as an eight hours working day), let me ask them to consider whether the gain they hope for might not be got just as well by the gentler means I have proposed, without our having to get our necks under Cæsar's feet. And let me explain to novices in Social Science that I do not propose to abolish dishonesty, or idleness, or ignorance,

or hot disputes between masters and workmen, or every oppression of the weak by the strong. There will be plenty of all this and to spare. At the same time, let me advise them, if they meet any proposal to make an end of these evils, not to waste their time over studying it. They had much better study M. Claudio Jannet's excellent book.

C. S. DEVAS.

1. *Missale Romanum*. Editio 3a post Typicam, a S. Rituum Congregatione approbata. (In folio minori.)
2. *Cantus Ecclesiasticus Passionis D.N. Jæu Christi*. Excerptus ex editione authentica Majoris Hebdomadæ.
3. *Breviarium Romanum*. Editio 3a post Typicum. (In 4 vols. 18mo.)
4. *Canon Missæ ad usum Episcoporum ac Prælatorum solemniter vel private celebrantium*. Editio tertia.

All four publications from the same publisher: F. Pustet, Ratisbon, New York, and Cincinnati. 1889.

1. THE care spent on the material perfections of this Ratisbon edition of the Missal is rivalled by the scrupulous care taken in securing its literal correctness. Examined by Father G. Schrober, C.S.S.R., the Bishop of Ratisbon's Censor, the present edition has been also examined and approved at Rome, and bears the signature of the Cardinal Secretary of the Congregation of Rites to that effect. The type is large and easily legible; whilst the numerous woodcuts are highly artistic. The paper, too, is strong and opaque—altogether the Missal is a marvel of typographical excellence. The size is "smaller folio"—i.e., $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches within the red lines around the type.

2. A beautiful edition, in large folio, of the chant of the Passion, for Palm Sunday, the Tuesday and Wednesday of Holy Week, and Good Friday. The parts for the "Chronista," the "Christus," and the "Synagoga" are separate, and can be bound up each in its separate *fasciculis*. There is also the chant of the "Paschale Præconium"—the whole brought out with the greatest correctness, according to the Roman recension.

3. The praise given to the Missal may be accorded to this elegant edition of the Breviary. It bears the Bishop of Ratisbon's witness to its exact agreement with the edition which was named the "Typica," by a decree of the S. Congregation of Rites of Sept. 12, 1885. As we need scarcely remark, all the new offices are included up to date: there is also a complete English supplement. Although so small in size (the printed portion measuring 3 by 5 inches), the type of this edition is large, well impressed, and easily read. All these works are a credit to the great publishing house which produces them.

4. We have received, also, a beautiful copy of the third edition of the "Canon Missæ," issued by the same firm. It consists of

about 100 pages in folio, and contains, in addition to the usual matter, the forms for Confirmation, for the consecration of a Chalice, and for giving the Episcopal blessing under various circumstances. The paper, though hardly so substantial as in some of the old issues, is stout, white, and glossy. The type is bold and large, and it is clear without having that painfully staring quality which is not uncommon. There is no Gothic lettering. There are two magnificent full-page chromo-lithographs, and one smaller one besides coloured initial letters, and engraved headings and tail-pieces in considerable number. The whole of the words of Consecration are visible at one opening of the book—a convenience which a bishop's chaplain will appreciate. Besides the usual prayers before Mass, one or two others recently indulgenced are added—no doubt, with the sanction of the Congregation of Rites, who have approved this issue by the celebrated Ratisbon firm. Why have the editors, in face of the "O felicem virum beatum Joseph" of their text, put as a heading "*Oratio ad S. Josephum*"? Even if the barbarous termination be defensible, it is certainly not worth while going out of one's way to obtrude it.

La Réforme et la Politique Française en Europe jusqu'à la paix de Westphalie. Par le VICOMTE DE MEAUX. Two vols. Paris: Perrin. 1889.

THE history of the Protestant revolt from the authority of the Roman Pontiff, destroying as it did the unity of the Church Catholic in the West, is year by year receiving more attention. The archives, both of nations and individual families, are daily being rendered more accessible to those who will face the somewhat dry and certainly arduous task of searching among parchments and papers hitherto buried beneath the dust of centuries. As a result the last few years have witnessed the passing away of more than one venerable tradition, whilst many others are being modified materially in the light of the authoritative evidence patiently gathered out of the records of the past centuries. Times, too, have somewhat softened the old *odium theologicum* of the opposing religious parties, and while, on the one hand, a Catholic historian may acknowledge, not, of course, without regret, the causes which led up to and rendered possible the too successful revolt of so many kingdoms and peoples against the spiritual authority of the Holy See, Protestant writers, on the other, are found to candidly confess the atrocities and social miseries which accompanied and resulted from the triumph of the Protestant religion. The labour of those who are at work upon original sources of information is not more important to the ultimate triumph of historic truth than is that of the student who makes use of the material thus furnished him, gathering it together from various sources and, by composition and comparison, giving to the general reader a trustworthy account of

events illustrated by the light furnished by the toil of many individual labourers. The Vicomte de Meaux is one of this second class of historic students, and his excellent work on the connection of French politics with the Reformation gathers together into two fair-sized volumes a mass of information of great interest and importance. The attempt to relate even the bare outlines of the history of the Protestant reformation in Europe in so small a compass is certainly bold, but M. de Meaux has succeeded. Moreover, he has produced not only a valuable but also a most readable book. It has, alas! one very terrible defect, which in a work of this kind is absolutely unpardonable—it has no index whatever. For this reason it is impossible for a reviewer to do justice to the work. We had noted in the process of reading the two volumes many points of interest to which we intended to refer our readers, but they have vanished in the mass of information the book contains, and the absence of an index makes it impossible to determine without an infinity of trouble their exact position. In these days of life at high pressure every book intended to obtain a permanent position on the shelves of our libraries must be furnished with this necessary means of putting our finger at a moment's notice on the information we require. For this reason we regret to think that M. de Meaux's work will not gain the position it deserves. The book itself is written, of course, from a French standpoint. The first volume, which we fancy most people will consider the most generally interesting, is devoted to an account of the rise and progress of the reformation spirit in the various countries of Europe. It consists of two parts. In the first is related the history of the movement in those countries—comprising England, Norway and Sweden, the Low Countries, and Protestant Germany—where the revolt was successful; and in the second part is given an account of the work of the reformers in Catholic Germany, Poland, Spain, and Italy. This second part concludes with a survey of “Europe at the end of the sixteenth century,” which reckons up the results of the reformation, and sketches what the author calls “le grand dessein” of Henry IV. of France for the political action of that country under the new circumstances in which the nations of Europe were placed by the partial triumph of the reformation principles. The author claims that France alone was able to furnish a solution to the problems presented to the world by the spiritual revolution of the sixteenth century. In what we take to be the moral of M. de Meaux's work—that toleration was the only sound policy to pursue under the circumstances—we most cordially agree. By it Henry IV. certainly succeeded in preserving the kingdom of France to the Church, while it can hardly be questioned that the harsh and repressive measures made use of by other nations, Catholic and Protestant, failed in their purpose. The second volume deals with the Catholic renaissance, and is chiefly devoted to the political action of France and the solution by it of the difficult relations between Church and State. The most interesting part of this second volume, to our

minds, is the chapter which speaks of the rise of Richelieu. The author proves that, at any rate previous to the time when the Cardinal obtained so great a political position, he was a practical and pious ecclesiastic. There are, of course, many incidents in M. de Meaux's pages of most pathetic interest. It could hardly be otherwise in a work with so large a scope, and which deals with the passing away of deep religious beliefs and the compulsory sacrifice of ancient Catholic practices. We will conclude this short notice with an account given (vol. i. p. 120) by the author of the constancy of some Swedish nuns. Fifty years after the destruction of the convents in that country a legate of the Holy See came thither to see what was left of the old religion. He found hardly any trace of it left, but two miles from Upsala "he discovered two Benedictine nuns, who, at the age of seventy, were the survivors of their companions. For fifty years they had been deprived of all spiritual consolation, not seeing any priest, but still being constant to their profession. They showed the legate their veils and old breviaries out of which they continued daily to recite the office."

English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages. By J. J. JUSSELAND.
Translated from the French by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH.
London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

WE are grateful for any book which helps us to realize the conditions of life during the Middle Ages. True history is that which exhibits in miniature the character and spirit of an age. Macaulay long ago uttered the lament that, although we possessed so many works upon the annals of our country, we really knew so little about the most important item of all—the individuals who were the actors in the events recorded. "Most people," he wrote, "look at past times as princes look at foreign countries. More than one illustrious stranger has landed on our island amidst the shouts of a mob, has dined with the king, has hunted with the master of the staghounds, &c., and has then departed thinking he has seen England. . . . He who would understand these things rightly must not confine his observations to palaces and solemn days. He must see ordinary men as they appear in their ordinary business and in their ordinary pleasures. . . . He who wishes to understand the condition of mankind in former ages must proceed on the same principle. If he attends only to public transactions, to wars, congresses, and debates, his studies will be as unprofitable as those imperial, royal, and serene sovereigns, who form their judgment of our island from having gone in State to a few sights and from having held formal conferences with a few great officers." What we want to know more about are the English people, their mode of life, their needs and desires, their manners and customs: the conditions and circumstances of the times, when they possessed this England of ours, are or should be all of great interest to us. Nothing is too

trivial a matter that helps to fill up the picture and transport us out of the nineteenth century into the past, and enables us to know those who have gone before us somewhat more in the fashion we understand and know the English folk of to-day. It was therefore with a keen anticipation of pleasure that we opened and cut the pages of M. Jusserand's volume on "English Wayfaring Life" in the fourteenth century. We must first remark that this work is much more than a mere translation of M. Jusserand's "*Vie Nomade*." In the first place, the English work is enriched with a great number of engravings and cuts, some of which are perfect specimens of the fine art to which the matter of book illustration has been reduced. This, of course, is a great matter in a popular book, and this volume is nothing if it be not popular. Next, Miss Toulmin Smith has done her work in so complete and conscientious a way that it would be difficult to detect the least sign of the foreigner in the English dress. In fact, it will be quite clear to those who know the French original that she must have translated, when possible, from the quoted documents themselves—and not from the author's French version which sometimes might be more accurate. Thirdly, the English version has a good index, an all important matter to our mind, while the original work has none. It is likewise enriched with many valuable notes, in which no doubt M. Jusserand was assisted by the extensive archaeological learning of his translator. The work consists of three parts: the first deals with the roads and bridges, their state, how they were made and how maintained. We are instructed in this part as to the various modes of conveyance by which people in the fourteenth century passed from place to place in England, and the information given as to the rude accommodation afforded by the inn of the period makes us well satisfied that progress has been made in this, as in many other respects, in our much abused nineteenth century. Part the second introduces to the reader the lay wayfarers of four centuries ago. We must confess they form a strange medley, but we are glad to look at them after this lapse of time and to know something of the juggler, tumbler, and musician, who amused our forefathers and their retainers of an evening in the old hall where, in true patriarchal style, masters and servants dwelt in common; to herbalist and quack doctor, who treated, in what must have been a rough and ready fashion, the ills from which the sturdy Englishmen of those days were not exempt, and to the wandering and travelling pedlar, who supplied repairs to house and clothes. Part the third deals with the clerical wayfaring element, and treats of itinerant preachers and friars mendicant, of pilgrims and pilgrimages, and of that strange and objectionable class of people known as "pardoners," who hawked about religious privileges and indulgences, and who flourished in spite of the outspoken condemnation of the Church authorities. From this mere outline of the scope of this volume it may easily be seen that it contains a great deal that will interest such as care to know something of the people of England four hundred years ago. There is, it is true, nothing very new in all

that M. Jusserand has to tell us. Such a book as Cutt's "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages" goes over the same ground, and is a much more scientific book to our minds than this "English Way-faring Life," though the "get up" of this latter is likely to make it more popular with the general reader, and this is a great matter, as we live in days when the class of people is very large indeed which has to be lured to knowledge by the attractiveness of the medium in which it is conveyed. What is new about M. Jusserand's book is that he has made use of many items of information culled from the mass of matter teeming with interest which is at present buried away from our "general reader" in the series of "Rolls" publications and in the journals and transactions of our various publishing and literary societies. He claims, too, that he has broken, "more or less completely, with the old habit of taking the ideas of every-day life in the Middle Ages only from the descriptions, the satires, or the eulogies of poets." This is really a great matter, but we wish M. Jusserand had been able to emancipate himself a little more than he has done. Also we are inclined to think that he is apt to take too seriously the rude drawings of the period, and which are often mere caricatures by which a scribe would seek to relieve the monotonous labour of driving his quill, and even in the case of set drawings the artist of those days was probably as unable to depict accurately a cart, a carriage, or an inn as to figure a dog or a horse. Lastly, we have our suspicions that M. Jusserand is not always very accurate, and we will confess that whilst reading his book a wicked wish at times came to our minds that he and his translator, who has a well-deserved reputation for accurate knowledge, could have changed their respective positions in regard to the work: that Miss Toulmin Smith had written the book and M. Jusserand had given the French people a translation of her work. As an example of the want of accuracy about which we feel compelled to complain, we may take the author's description of a monk upon his journey. "When the monks came out of the cloister and travelled," he says (p. 115), "they wilfully modified their costume, and it became difficult to distinguish them from the lords." In proof of this he quotes a passage from Chaucer, about which we may say, in M. Jusserand's own words, "Poets embellish, imagine, colour, or transform; we must not accept their statements without checking them." The author, however, acts up to his principle, and quotes the words of the Council of London in 1342, which, he says, "do more than justify the satire of the poet." So important does he consider this that he prints in the Appendix (p. 421) the original Latin text taken from Wilkin's "Concilia," (ii. p. 703), which he has painfully collated with Labbe. This extract he has headed, "*The dress of the Worldly Monk*," and he states that a council of York, A.D. 1367, used the same language. Our readers will hardly believe that neither the one council nor the other made any reference at all to the monk's dress. The passages M. Jusserand quotes are regulations as to the dress of *clerics*, and religious were not in any way mentioned.

Joseph Othmar Cardinal Rauscher, Fürsterzbischof von Wien, Sein Leben und Wirken. Von Dr. COELESTIN WOLFSGRUBER, Benedictiner zu den Schotten in Wien. Freiburg: Herder. 1888.

WHAT Cardinals Wiseman, Manning, and Cullen have done for the development of the Catholic Church in Great Britain and Ireland has been done for the Church in the vast Empire of Austria-Hungary by Cardinal Rauscher. The important ecclesiastical events from 1853 to his death, which occurred on November 24, 1875, centred round this prince of the Church. We are, therefore, pleased to bring to the notice of English Catholics this biography, written by a Benedictine of the ancient and famed Abbey of the Scots at Vienna. The work is the result of deep research, and is based on manuscripts left by the Cardinal. Not a few vexed questions on intricate problems of philosophy and theology are judiciously treated. Rauscher was born October 8, 1797, of a respectable middle-class Vienna family. He studied philosophy in the University of Vienna, where he became acquainted with those systems of German philosophy which have fascinated so many Catholic youths and imperilled their faith. Divine providence, however, watched over this gifted student, and brought him under the influence of Clement Maria Hofbauer, whom Leo XIII. canonized last year, and to whom, under God, Vienna owes its religious regeneration. Hofbauer became the spiritual father and friend of Rauscher, who owed to him his conversion and the beginnings of solid piety. In 1826 Rauscher was appointed professor of ecclesiastical history at Salzburg. His history of the Church, published in two volumes in 1829, though incomplete, is still held in high esteem. In 1832 he entered on the new office of director of the Oriental Academy of Vienna, which brought him into frequent intercourse with the Imperial Court and the Prime Minister, Prince Metternich. On every question affecting Church affairs the Ministry consulted Rauscher, who was thus enabled to advocate with the supreme authorities those sound principles of ecclesiastical liberty before which the whole system of Josephinism soon gave way. In 1844 Dr. Rauscher was summoned to become tutor in philosophy to the Archduke Francis Joseph, who in 1848 became Emperor of Austria. The details given of the method employed by Dr. Rauscher in introducing his pupil to the study of philosophy are excellent. From this Christian tutor the Emperor learned much of the wisdom and courage with which he has faced the cruel misfortunes that have befallen him, from 1849 to the calamity of a few months ago. Dr. Rauscher was appointed to the see of Jeckau in 1849, and in 1853 to the see of Vienna. He was the most influential member of the Austrian hierarchy. He was the author in 1855 of the Concordat. And to his unwearied exertions the Austrian Church owes its release from the iron fetters of the system of Joseph II. At the frequent assemblies of the Austrian bishops, convened for the good of Church, State, and

Society, Rauscher presided. He was not exempted from a share of sorrow and disappointment. Austrian "liberalism" took offence at the liberty accorded the Church, overthrew the Concordat, and soon contrived the May laws, depriving the Church of a large part of the liberty for which she had struggled so many years. In order to avoid far greater evils the Emperor Francis Joseph at last yielded to the storm, and sanctioned the May laws, rejecting only the law affecting religious orders. During this contest the Cardinal manfully held his ground. F. Wolfsgruber describes the Cardinal's position during the Vatican Council, and is able from the manuscripts before him to give a large amount of information hitherto unknown, which every historian should carefully consult in any future treatment of this memorable epoch. We ought not to pass over in silence F. Wolfsgruber's account of the anti-Catholic philosophical system of Dr. Günther, condemned by the Holy See. The Cardinal had a large share in the trial of this new philosophy ordered by Pius IX., and by his paternal affection brought Dr. Günther to submit to the decision of the Holy Office. Finally, we get a very pleasing glance into the inner life of Cardinal Rauscher, who, besides being a great politician and bishop, was a man of singular piety. His prayer and meditation were constant, and in them chiefly did he find the support of that untiring zeal and indomitable courage which mark his life as a model of what a bishop should be in modern Europe.

BELLESHEIM.

Principienfragen der christlichen Archäologie. Erörtert von JOSEPH WILPERT. Mit zwei Tafeln Lichtdruck. Freiburg: Herder. 1889.

IT is a pleasure to welcome this work, which which will be found invaluable to the Catholic student of Christian archaeology. For years past Protestant divines in Germany have generally adopted in this department of ecclesiastical history the principles established by De Rossi. Lately, however, a school of Protestant archaeologists has appeared opposing the principles on which De Rossi explains the Christian pictures and inscriptions, and denying the wonderful results at which he has arrived. Parson Hasenclever, of Braunschweig attacked De Rossi's theory of the Christian inscriptions, Professor Schultze attacked his explanation of the symbols in catacombs, whilst Dr. Achelis has been content to throw doubt on the time-honoured Catholic interpretation of the "Fish" symbol. These vehement attacks have had their origin in the dogmatic bias of the writers and not in any serious and unprejudiced historical research. And now they meet with complete refutation in the able treatise of Dr. Wilpert, who belongs to a school of Catholic archaeologists resident in the Campo Santo, opposite the Vatican, and engaged in bringing out the *Römische Quartalschrift für Alterthumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* (Freiburg: Herder). The value of the present work lies, however, less in the polemical part than in the exposition of the

principles which must of necessity guide the archæologist. In the first part the origin and character of the Christian inscriptions are examined; in the second the true principles are laid down for interpreting the ancient symbols; and the concluding portion is devoted to the frivolous sentiments of Dr. Achelis, on the symbol of the "Fish." Dr. Wilpert, I may point out, makes good use of W. Ramsay's discovery of the inscription on the tomb of Abercius. It was in 1882, when travelling through Phrygia, that Ramsay fortunately found this valuable inscription, which throws new light on the symbol of the "Fish" in the catacomb of S. Callixtus. These remarks may suffice to strongly recommend a treatise which is of more than passing interest.

BELLESHEIM.

Correspondance Diplomatique de Talleyrand, sa Mission à Londres en 1792; avec Introduction et Notes. Par G. PALLAIN. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

IT is as a diplomat that Talleyrand was at his best. In his time he served many masters. The most solemn engagements could not bind him to God, to the sovereign Pontiff, to King, Republic, or Emperor. But it must be owned that he laboured with fidelity and with no small success in the interests of his country. He was one of the great Ministers who brought such renown on the diplomacy of France. The present volume of his correspondence has a special interest for us, inasmuch as it deals with the foreign policy of England on the eve of the great wars. Some letters, written during his exile in the United States, show that he was a close observer of American society and politics. M. Pallain has enriched the letters with a valuable Introduction and a biographical Index of all the persons named in the text. The following extraordinary entry occurs in the Index:—"BURKE—Historien, né en Irlande, mort en 1808!"

T. B. S.

Marie Antoinette, sa vie, sa mort. Par F. DE VYRÉ. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

MARIE ANTOINETTE, like Mary Queen of Scots, has many worshippers and many persecutors, but few judges. She is still either the "delightful vision," "decorating and cheering the sphere she moved in; glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour and joy," the devoted wife and mother, the martyr-queen: or she is "Madame Deficit," whose frivolity and extravagance and caprice turned a reform into a revolution. M. de Vyré belongs to the class of worshippers, but he renders only reasonable service to his idol. As we read his pages we cannot help feeling the influence of those charms which subdued the mighty Mirabeau and captivated the bitter young Barnave. Introduced, while a mere child, into a

Court where vice had reigned supreme, her very enemies owned that she kept herself unstained. Wicked old routés, from Louis XV. downwards, were awed and charmed by her presence.

Abashed the devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in her shape, how lovely, saw, and pined
His loss.

Imprudent, indeed, she was, especially during the trying years when she had no son. Her mother, Maria Theresa, often reproved her for her familiarity with the king's younger brother, the Comte d'Artois. The letters of the great Empress-Queen are full of sage advice, which prove her to have been as well versed in domestic duties as in statecraft. Marie Antoinette was to remember that she was a queen, a wife, a mother; she had duties to the people, to her husband, to her children; she should not squander, she should not be ruled by a little coterie of friends, her admirers must keep their place—attentions, yes, but no familiarity. M. de Vyré gives a dazzling description of the splendour of the Court at a time when extreme want and misery prevailed throughout the country. The wealth that was wrung from the starving peasants was lavished on the Queen's favourites. Reform and economy were impossible while she held sway. But when the crash came she developed virtues of which she had given small token in the days of her prosperity. Few will read with dry eyes the touching, nay, the heart-rending account of her sorrows. It is a relief when we reach the last scene and feel that she can suffer no more. T. B. S.

Penological and Preventive Principles. By WILLIAM TALLACK, Secretary of the Howard Association. London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co. 1889.

THE art of punishment is still very backward among us. Any one who takes the trouble to compare the sentences passed upon criminals is astonished at their variableness and disproportion to the offences committed. At the autumn assizes in 1887, a judge sentenced an old woman to seven years' penal servitude for stealing an article of clothing; whereas in the same week the Lord Chief Justice sentenced another woman to three weeks' hard labour for stealing a piece of linen, although she had already undergone ten years' penal servitude. And if we follow the unhappy criminals into their prison-house we find that they are sometimes dealt with as mere vermin fit only for extermination, and at other times fed and clothed and lodged far better than the innocent dweller in the workhouse or the hovel. Mr. Tallack has done good service by pointing out what is defective in our present system. His book contains a vast mass of information concerning criminals, sentences, prisons, and reformatories at home and abroad. He has also collected together the

opinions of eminent penologists on prison reform. But the matter, valuable though it is, is undigested and ill-arranged.

We are glad to see that Mr. Tallack has not overlooked the philanthropic influence of the Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church [he says] has held that if the monk and the hermit need divine grace to rescue solitude from being disastrous, still more necessary are good influences for the isolated criminal. And on the partially cellular prison of San Michele at Rome, erected in 1703 by Pope Clement XI. from the plans of his architect, Carlo Fontana, the necessity of combining the moral with the deterrent conditions of separation was permanently recorded in the motto conspicuously inscribed over the prison: "Parum est coercere improbos poena, nisi probos efficias disciplina." This motto greatly impressed John Howard when he visited Rome. It is important to notice this broad view taken by the Roman Church; for she was a pioneer of prison reform. Clement the Eleventh's prison became a model for a similar one at Milan. The long ranges of cells, and even the radiating arrangement of the wings and corridors, were planned by the Roman architect and the Pontiff. Long years later they were imitated by Belgians at Ghent; then by Jeremy Bentham at Millbank, and also by some Americans in the United States (pp. 129, 130).

The labours of Bishop Willson and Archbishop Ullathorne in the penal settlements are spoken of in terms of great praise. So, too, are those of the Christian Brothers in French prisons. "The Roman Catholic Church excels in its orderly organization: and hence has ensued some of its special success in prison visitation in France, Ireland, Belgium, the United States, and elsewhere." But Mr. Tallack goes on to take away with his left hand what he has given with his right. He is afraid that the reader may be led to admire a Church which has done so much good. Accordingly, he indulges in a tirade against the Inquisition—"the frequent evils resulting from unnatural clerical celibacy," "enforced disobedience to the natural and divine law of marriage"—worthy of the worst days of Exeter Hall. It may be presumed that Mr. Tallack would glory in the title of "Bible Christian," and yet he takes no heed of the prohibition of false witness and St. Paul's praise of virginity. It is surely hard that we cannot take up a book on prison reform without finding in it repeated attacks on what we hold most dear. If Mr. Tallack has at heart the good cause of putting down crime, he would do well in future to refrain from insulting those whose labours he cannot help admiring, even though their lives are too sublime for him to understand.

T. B. SCANNELL.

The Ancient World and Christianity. By E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D.
Translated by ANNIE HARWOOD HOLMDEN. London:
Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

M. DE PRESSENSÉ is at the present moment perhaps the most striking figure among the French Protestants, and probably the only man of eminence in their ministry whose name s

known outside of France. His work on "The Ancient World and Christianity" belongs to a department of literature in which Catholics and Protestants can labour side by side in defence of the great truths held by both in common. It is a very remarkable essay on the religions of antiquity and their influence on the great peoples of the world, up to and in preparation for the coming of the Messiah. In his preface M. de Pressensé says :—

When we find that eighteen centuries ago, in the decadence of a world ready to perish, the unutterable groaning of creation was answered by a sovereign manifestation of holiness and love, which caused a new river of life to flow through the thirsty land, this great fact, attested by unquestionable documents, gives confirmation to our faith in Christ. And in this troubled evening of the nineteenth century, when it is easy to forecast the gloomy future of a democracy without God, and consequently without any adequate moral sanctions, our only hope of an effective salvation for society lies in that great spiritual force, which eighteen centuries ago put new life and vigour into a state of society as effete and troubled as that of to-day. There seems to us a peculiar interest at the present time in tracing by the light of history the manifestations and victorious efforts of this great moral force. We recognize fully that in such an investigation facts must not be wrested to support theories, and that impartiality is a sacred duty. It has been our earnest endeavour to conform to this canon of all true criticism.

This extract will show what is the author's standpoint. In his pages the history of ancient religion becomes a witness to God, not a weapon of an infidel propaganda. M. de Pressensé makes no claim to be a specialist with regard to any of the great religions of antiquity, but he takes his facts and documents from recognized authorities, and everywhere carefully states the sources of information on which he depends. One may here and there take objection to details in his statement. Thus, in his account of the religion of ancient Persia, he appears to take too literally the expression which brands the wicked as the sons of Ahriman, and in his account of Brahmanism he makes a doubtful statement when he represents Varuna as being identified with the Asura in an evil sense. Varuna is an Asura, or rather the Asura, only in the Vedic and not in the later sense of the word. Again, to assign the most important of the Upanishads to "an epoch anterior to Buddhism" is to make an assertion which may be true, but which it would not be easy to prove. But though the specialist may criticize such points of detail, they do not affect the author's main argument. The book is a valuable addition to the literature of its subject. The translation is well done. The index might have been made a little fuller with advantage.

The Greville Memoirs: A Journal of the Reigns of George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria. By the late CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, Clerk of the Council to those Sovereigns. Edited by Henry Reeve, C.B., D.C.L. A new edition in eight vols. Vols. VII. and VIII. London: Longmans. 1888.

SINCE last July, when we reviewed at length Mr. Greville's Memoirs, the two concluding volumes (vii. and viii.) of the compact and cheaper edition, lately issued by Messrs. Longman, have been published, and deserve a few words of notice. They treat of the years between 1852 and 1860, years not less full of interest than those already noticed. If, as we are obliged to admit, Mr. Greville has less and less valuable information to impart to us touching the events of this period, it is—as he himself tells us—because he withdrew himself more and more from general society as years advanced; and also because many of those from whom he had been in the habit of gaining his information had already passed away. His special means of obtaining knowledge having been thus dried up, he feels that he can teach us but little that is not to be learnt from the newspapers, and from other sources open to all. He therefore concludes his Journal in 1860, five years before his death.

We could wish that he had decided otherwise; for, although there may be wanting the special value of fresh and unsuspected detail and explanation, in the history of many a political puzzle which characterized the earlier volumes, the perusal of these later ones cause us to regret that Mr. Greville did not continue to write his Journal up to the end of his life. His style is so pleasant, his views are so liberal and wise, his judgment is so sound and unprejudiced, that merely to read his remarks upon passing events, even though they may contain no very novel explanation or view, is an agreeable recreation. Then, too, the summary of character which he is able to give, both of statesmen and of ladies of great social position and influence, are valuable, both as clever delineations of character and as interesting remembrances of those who, though deserving no definite place in general history, yet bore a prominent part in the social life of the last generation. Of these, Mr. Greville's graphic pictures of Princess Lieven and of the late Lady Ashburton have a particular claim to our notice, specially the last named lady, being, as she is, so well known to all students of the lives of both Carlyle and of his wife.

Space forbids our doing more than slightly to annotate a few of the stirring incidents of these last years of Mr. Greville's Journal. The Crimean War, of which he never approved, and which he seems, indeed, to have consistently regretted, naturally occupies much of his thought and interest during the years 1854–1856. But, as we remarked above, we are not aware that Mr. Greville is able to throw any fresh light on a period of which we may say, without exaggeration, nearly every day and every detail has been studied by men endowed pre-eminently with the historic sense.

This was shortly followed by a time of even more absorbing and terrible anxiety, the summer and autumn of 1857, when the Indian

Mutiny engrossed every thought, and when the sovereignty of our great Eastern empire, and even the possibility of saving our fellow-countrymen and countrywomen from a fate at which the bravest might well shudder, seemed trembling in the balance. But here, again, Mr. Greville possesses no peculiar or private sources of information; and though, like every Englishman of that day, he is overpowered by the news of the succession of horrors, all but unparalleled in this generation, with which each homeward-bound mail during those eventful months was laden—and his *Journal* gives ample evidence of his interest in and anxiety for all concerned in those tragic occurrences—yet, all who may be anxious to master the subject of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 will find fuller detail and more exact information in the works of those who either themselves passed through the frightful ordeal, or who have made India and that period their special study.

In 1860 Mr. Greville concludes his *Journal*. During the whole of this year there is a constantly recurring mention of ill-health, and in the three months preceding the month of November, either from illness or from disinclination, Mr. Greville has been unable to make a single entry. In consequence, he concludes that it is useless further to prolong the work; and with a few modest words of self-depreciation, and a wish that his task had been more worthily fulfilled, he ends an almost life-long labour of forty-two years.

In conclusion, we may express a sincere wish, though hardly with a sanguine expectation of its fulfilment, that an equally fair and acute intelligence, with an equally clear and forcible style, has been quietly noting down all the events of interest during the subsequent thirty years; and that, at no very distant date, the reading world may with pleasure be able to peruse a sequel to Mr. Greville's *Journal*, which will compare not unfavourably with its predecessor.

* * A large number of books, very recently received, must wait till another quarter for review. Among them we may mention the Catholic Truth Society's new publications, and more especially their admirable and timely "*Life of Father Damien*," which we recommend as the best account in English of his heroic career.

Record of Roman Documents.

ALLOCUTION OF LEO XIII., when proclaiming new Cardinals from France, Belgium, and Bohemia. He laments that the condition of things in 1870 not only continues, but has become immeasurably aggravated—that a statue has been raised even to an apostate. He is consoled at the opinions expressed by the Catholic Congresses as to the necessity of his civil principedom, and declares his resolution that nothing shall hinder him from vindicating these rights. (May 24, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 1, 1889.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE ELECTION OR CONSECRATION OF A BISHOP.—Solemn Mass may be sung in the Cathedral on the anniversary of the election or consecration of the Bishop, when such anniversary falls upon a Greater Double, but not when it falls within a privileged Octave; in the latter case a commemoration only is made. (*S. R. C.*, April 20, 1888.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April, 1889.

BISHOP'S NAME IN THE CANON OF THE MASS.—The name of the Bishop is to be inserted in the Canon of the Mass from the day on which he takes possession of his see either in person or by proxy—not from the day of his election. (*S. R. C.*, June 4, 1879.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 8, 1889.

CATAFALQUES.—The only instance in which a canopy is allowed to be placed over a catafalque is the funeral of a Pope when the body is present, otherwise it is inadmissible, and the custom is to be regarded as an abuse, and as such is to be eliminated. (*S. R. C.*, June 4, 1879.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 8, 1889.

INDULGENCED PRAYER.—In the Pope's encyclical of December 25, 1888, commencing *Exeunte jam anno*, is contained a beautiful prayer, to which is now attached an Indulgence of 200 days to be gained once a day. (*S. Cong. Indulg.*, Jan. 19, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, May 25, 1889.

The prayer is as follows:—

[TRANSLATION.]

Thou seest, O Lord, how on all sides stormy winds arise and the sea is troubled, upheaving the mighty deep. Do Thou, Who alone art able, rebuke the winds and the sea. Do Thou restore to the human family that true peace which the world cannot give, the tranquillity of order. May mankind by Thy grace and inspiration return to due order, renewing in their hearts piety towards God, justice and charity towards their neighbour, and temperance within themselves, subjecting their appetite to the dominion of reason. Thy kingdom come: may those who, afar from Thee, vainly toil in

search of truth and salvation learn how indispensable it is to subject themselves to Thee and serve Thee. In Thy laws is innate justice and fatherly tenderness; and Thou alone by Thy grace didst give us the strength to observe them. The life of man upon earth is a warfare; but Thou Thyself dost witness the contest, dost help man to conquer, refresh him when he faileth, and crown him in his victory.

IRREGULARITY.—Permission to receive Holy Orders refused to a young student, who, though otherwise very promising, suffered from a malformation of right arm and hand, which, whilst allowing him to perform without causing *admiratio* to the worshippers the ordinary ceremonies, prevented him from making the sign of the Cross, from elevating and extending the hands, except in a very irregular way. (*S. R. C.*, Dec. 15, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 15, 1889.

MOUNT CARMEL, Enrolment in the Confraternity of.—The privilege, by which priests empowered to invest with the Scapular of Mount Carmel were exempt from the obligation of inscribing the names in the book of the Confraternity, is withdrawn; nor does the faculty to enrol convey also the power to keep a registry. The permission of the General of the Carmelite Order is required. (*S. R. C.*, April 27, 1887.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May, 1889.

MOUNT CARMEL, SCAPULAR OF.—In accordance with a wish expressed by many priests, especially by members of the Congregation of Our Most Holy Redeemer, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, using special faculties granted to them by Leo XIII., has approved of an abbreviated form for blessing and investing with the Brown Scapular. For the Form and for the Decree (*S. R. C.*, 24 Julii, 1888) *vid. Tablet*, April 6, 1889.

PAPAL LETTER to the Bishop of Brescia, praising him for raising his voice in protest against a pamphlet written by the Bishop of Cremona, entitled "Rome and Italy, and the Real State of Things." (March 31, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 13, 1889 (in the Roman letter).

PAPAL LETTER to the Bishop of Cremona, the writer of the pamphlet mentioned above, who afterwards made a public retraction of the same in his Cathedral. The letter congratulates him upon the fact and the mode of his submission. (April 29, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, May 18, 1889.

REQUIEM MASSES.—A Requiem Mass, even though the body be present, cannot be celebrated on the Feast of S. Joseph or of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist. (*S. R. C.*, April 20, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 13, 1889, and the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April, 1889.

VISITATION, EPISCOPAL.—The vestments used in the visitation of a Cathedral or other notable church are to be those assigned by the Rubrics; serventur rubricæ. Question asked: Could a Bishop, for greater solemnity, be vested in alb, cope, with mitre, &c., before receiving the Holy Water at the door of the church? (*S. R. C.*, April 20, 1888.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April, 1889.

